Palestine exploration quarterly

# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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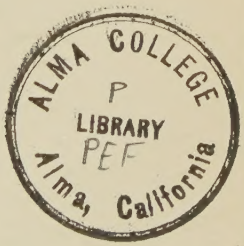
## *Quarterly Statement*

FOR 1927.




LONDON:
PUBLISHED AT THE FUND'S OFFICE,
2, HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W.

15662

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28

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PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
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THE

# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

ALTHOUGH it is impossible to give any details in this the first number of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1927, it may be stated now that plans are maturing for a new excavation in Palestine this year—probably at either Tell Sandahannah or Tell el-Hesy. The Council of the Jerusalem School of Archaeology has recently appointed Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, late of the Sudan Service of Antiquities, as their Director, and Mr. G. M. FitzGerald as Assistant Director, of the School. Both the Council and the Director are desirous of co-operation with the Palestine Exploration Fund in excavation work, and the Committee of the Fund consider that such co-operation would solve many outstanding difficulties and enable them to commence work in Palestine very shortly.

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The Committee are glad to report that the *Annual*, 1923–5, on the Ophel Excavations has been published and is now on sale. The price is £2 2*s*. to non-subscribers.

The account is by the excavators, Prof. Macalister, Litt.D., and the Rev. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., and consists of four chapters on the Narrative, the Rock Surface, Rock-cuttings and Constructions and Miscellaneous Finds, with an Appendix on Greek Inscriptions stamped upon Jar-handles (pp. 1–212). There are two important maps, an air-photograph of Mount Ophel, 26 plates and 217 illustrations. The maps, which were prepared under the supervision of Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.S., the Fund's Honorary Treasurer, show the results of all the excavations made upon the Ophel ridge during the last sixty years.

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We are glad to be able to give below an abstract of the excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh by Dr. William Badé, the Director of the Mizpah Expedition of the Pacific School of Religion. Almost at the start interesting and important discoveries were

made, and the site proved to be the most strongly fortified city so far unearthed in Palestine. It must have been, as Dr. Badé states, a place of great wealth and power. New and interesting types of ware were found and, most valuable of all, two fine tombs, which the eminent archaeologist, Father Vincent, assigns to the Eneolithic period, *i.e.* 3000–2500 B.C. on his calculation.

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Space has been found in this issue for a lengthy article by the Rev. Phythian-Adams on the date of Joshua, the fall of Jericho, and the general methods of modern Biblical criticism. The *Quarterly Statement* is devoted primarily to non-controversial discussion of Palestinian archaeology, etc., and in the nature of the case opinions are divided upon many controversial and delicate questions arising out of the Old Testament. But as Mr. Phythian-Adams rightly lays weight upon the importance of the purely archaeological data and their interpretation, we present his statement unabridged, and merely remark that the verdict of archaeology is unfortunately not so unambiguous as is often assumed, and that it is to further excavation and the discovery of decisive evidence that we have to look for the solution of many a difficult Biblical problem. So much remains to be done, so many tempting sites offer themselves, that it is for the spade to determine what, at present, is too often a balance of probabilities for or against the meaning of some ancient Biblical record or reference, and to give us that information which cannot be gained from written records which are far from being contemporary.

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On the formal dissolution of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, Sir Ronald Storrs drew up an official memorandum on the accomplishment of the purposes for which it had been formed. These include, plans for the preservation of the Old City, an Arts and Crafts Exhibition in 1920, followed by other exhibitions of painting and sculpture; the restoration of the Suq al-Qattanin, the clearing of the Citadel, repair of the Damascus and other Gates, and of bad places in the Wall. A map and plan of Jerusalem and a portfolio of Jerusalem views have also been published in English, Arabic and Hebrew editions; the tomb-stone of Philip d'Aubigny, buried in 1236, was raised, and the stone moved out of the way of pedestrian traffic. A proper town-planning scheme has been

under discussion. The Society's functions and properties have been appropriately distributed, and any surplus funds are to be devoted, if sufficient, to endow Jerusalem with an annual gold medal for the best building erected during the year . . . . .

The full statement appears in *The Near East and India* of December 9.

We complete in this issue the "Narrative of a Journey from Rome to Jerusalem," translated and edited by Mr. Luke, C.M.G., B.Litt. It has been appearing serially in the *Quarterly Statement*, and will shortly be published by the P.E.F. in a small volume. Some of the earlier chapters have been re-translated and annotated and a valuable "Introduction" added in which Mr. Luke discusses the date of this MS.; an index will also be supplied. It is perhaps a pity that this interesting travel story cannot appear in the series of the "Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society Library," but, unfortunately, that society was dissolved after the publication of the last volume of the series. The journey of this unknown and unnamed traveller here recorded is a not unworthy addition to these published texts.

The new plan of Jerusalem, on a scale of approximately 1 : 5,000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5*s*. Mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9*s*. The latter form is the more convenient, as, owing to its size, the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 4 *sq.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions:—

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| James Melrose, Esq. ... ... ... | 35 | 0 | 0 |
| George Mathieson, Esq. ... ... ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Herbert Phillips, Esq. ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Anonymous ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following:—

*The Near East and India*, October 28: In unknown Arabia; December 9: The Pro-Jerusalem Society.

*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, xiii, 3–4. Mycenae, 1921–3: Legitimate and illegitimate criticism, by J. P. Droop; Oxford excavations in Nubia, by Prof. F. W. Griffith.

*Expository Times*, November; Recent excavations in Mesopotamia, 1918–26, by Prof. S. Langdon.

*The New Judaea.*

*Zionist Review.*

*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, October: The historical background of Gen. xiv, by Prof. Albright; the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I, by Prof. Otto Schroeder; the chronology of some Greco-Christian inscriptions in Egypt, by M. Chaine.

*American Journal of Philology.*

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, September: Notes on the topography of ancient Mesopotamia, by Prof. Albright; an inscription of Elibaal, King of Byblus, by Prof. Charles C. Torrey, etc.

*The Museum Journal, Pennsylvania*, September: The temples of Dagon and Ashtoreth at Beth-Shan, by Alan Rowe; the pilgrim of the moon at Ur of the Chaldees, by Dr. L. Legrain.

*Homiletic Review.*

*Jewish Quarterly Review.*

*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vi (for 1924–5). New Haven, 1926.

*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, September, 1926.

*Revue Biblique*, October, 1926: The cherubim, by Fathers Dhorme and Vincent; the topography of the Maccabaean campaigns, by Father Abel; Himyaritic inscriptions, by Father Janssen, etc.

*Journal Asiatique*, January–March.

*Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, x, 6: Some prehistoric stations in Palestine, by P. Alexis Mallon, S.J.

*Palästinajahrbuch*, edited by Dr. Gustaf Dalman, 1926: Tradition in Palestine, by H. W. Herzberg; the history of Beth-Shan, 1500–1000 B.C., by Prof. Alt; the tradition of Nebi Samwîl, Mizpah and Gibeon, by Dalman, etc.

*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, October: Numerous reviews; the date of the Ahiram inscription at Byblus, by Spiegelberg; Egyptological observations in Syria and Palestine, by C. Roeder; "Cappadocian" tablets, by J. Lewy; problems of Old Testament research, by J. Hempel; old Palestinian superstition, by M. Löhr, etc.

*Bulletin de la Société royale des lettres de Lund*, 1925–6: A Byzantine inscription from Hebron relating to the conduit. By N. Svensson.

*Palästinensische Kleinkunst*, by Adolf Reifenberg, Jerusalem, Berlin.

*Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences, Russia*, 1926, No. 9.

*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vi, 3: Mohammedan saints and sanctuaries in Palestine, by T. Canaan; a new Greek inscription discovered at Capernaum, by Father Orfali; incised representation of a stag from Tell el-Oreimeh, by Prof. Albright.

*Bible Lands*, October, 1926: Recent excavations in Palestine.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

*Al-Mashrik*, October: An excursion to the north of Lebanon (continued), by P. Antoine Chebli; appendix to the history of Beirut, by P. L. Cheikho, etc. November: the events in Lebanon and Damascus (1840–62), by an "Eye-witness."

*Museum of Agriculture and Natural History of the Zionist Organisation, Jerusalem*: Abridged catalogue, 1926.

Books received:—

From E. J. Pilcher, Esq.:—

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1924, October, 1925, and October, 1926.

*Carthage*, by Dr. L. Carton.

*La Nécropole Punique de douimes (à Carthage), Fouilles de* 1895 *et* 1896, by Le R. P. Delattre, 1897.

*Pour Visiter Carthage*, by Dr. L. Carton, 1924.

*La Nécropole des Rabs, Prétres et Prétresses de Carthage. Troisième Année des Fouilles*, by R. P. Delattre.

*Carthage autrefois Carthage aujourd'hui. Description et Guide*, by two "Pères Blancs," 1923.

*Guide du Musée du Bardo (Musée Alaoui)*, by A. Merlin and L. Poinssot.

From the author:—

*J. E. H. Thomson, D.D., Scholar and Missionary in the Holy Land*, by William Ewing, M.C., D.D., with foreword by Major-General Sir David Bruce, K.C.B., LL.D., etc.

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The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

*The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.*

*The Quarterly Statement*, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

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FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of_____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

# THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EN-NASBEH.[1]

By William Frederic Badé, Ph.D., D.D., Litt.D.

The detailed results of the Mizpah Expedition of the Pacific School of Religion will be published in book form, with numerous plates and illustrations, as soon as practicable after the completion of next season's expedition, now in course of preparation. In the meantime, we offer, for the information of our friends, the following brief narrative account of achievements up to date.

The Mizpah Expedition was initiated by me during the summer and autumn of 1925.

Through correspondence with Dr. William F. Albright, Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, my attention was drawn to a number of unexcavated Palestinian sites, and among them one known as Tell en-Nasbeh, situated on a hill seven miles north of Jerusalem. A growing number of Old Testament scholars has in recent years sought to identify this mound, rather than the Neby Samwil of tradition, as the site of the Mizpah of Benjamin. The external and Biblical evidence seemed to me also to point in that direction, and I decided to apply to the Palestine Department of Antiquities for a permit to excavate the *tell*. Through the able co-operation of Dr. Albright and the Palestine Department of Antiquities a satisfactory lease agreement was negotiated with two part-owners of Tell en-Nasbeh.

On the day before Easter, April 3, 1926, the topographical survey of the mound and our organization had both been completed, and the first exploratory trench was sunk at the south-east corner of the *tell*. An enlargement of a German army aviator's photograph of the mound, secured through Professor Gustav Dalman from the Bavarian Archives of the War, suggested this as the strategic point of attack. Hardly more than two feet beneath the surface of the soil we struck something very extensive that resembled the irregular surface of a stone pavement. After five days of digging it revealed

[1] Condensed from "The Mizpah Expedition of the Pacific School of Religion," in the *Bulletin* (Vol. V, No. 3) of the School.

itself as the foundation platform of a great tower citadel, which formed a part of the city wall. The latter was found to be of surprising thickness. The section of it excavated during the past season varies between 14 feet 9 inches and 18 feet 9 inches. The average thickness of the wall proved to be about 16 feet, and two towers, flanking the corner citadel, and articulated with the wall, had a frontal width of nearly 30 feet. Soundings indicate that the wall encloses the entire top of the hill, about 8 acres, and from the nature of the defences already laid bare it is possible to say that this is the most strongly fortified city so far discovered in Palestine. Great wealth and power must have been concentrated within it, and the long period of its occupation justifies the inference that several types of civilization have left their deposits of antiquities under its ruins.

Among the first structures that came to light, when we began to strip layers within the city wall, were what we took to be grain bins, or silos, circular in form and constructed of one tier of rock laid in clay. They were about 5 feet deep and 3 feet in diameter. Both by the evidence of their position upon earlier debris and by the potsherds found in them they must be referred to the later Israelite period.

In the bottom of one of the silos nearest the citadel was found a stone which securely sealed a 2-foot opening in bed-rock. On moving it slightly I could see along a beam of light into a large dark space, from the bottom of which rose a cone of loose debris to within 4 feet of the opening. A hole in bed-rock in so unusual a place made me at first suspect it to be the food-offering vent of another cave tomb. I therefore directed a systematic search of the bed-rock all around for the main entrance of the supposed tomb, but nothing could be found. A drawing and photographs were then made of the bin, its position and size were accurately fixed upon our ground-plan map, and then the walls of the bin were removed to give better access to the opening. Finally I went down through it to make an examination.

One glance at the walls showed that it was a large cistern chipped out of bed-rock. Its shape was that of an enormous jug or bottle, largest at middle depth, somewhat smaller at the bottom, and narrowing like the shoulder of a bottle toward the opening above. Here and there the surface layer of the plaster with which it had been

TELL EN-NASBEH.—TOP OF CITY WALL.

*To face p.* 8.]

TELL EN-NASBEH.—FACE OF CITY WALL.

*To face p. 9.*

made water-tight had scaled off, revealing underneath an earlier coating of plaster, which was thickly pitted with pick or chisel holes, obviously intended to furnish a hold for the last coat of plaster. At the lower edge of the cone of debris in the cistern was found a lot of Israelite pottery of the Exilic period, and careful sifting of all the debris revealed no evidence of a later date. Among the many interesting objects that were recovered from the debris of this cistern were clay toys representing riders on horseback, and broken statuettes of the Babylonian Astarte, the "Queen of Heaven," against whose worship the prophet Jeremiah warned the Israelites of his day.

I wish, however, to direct particular attention to the ceramic evidence as to the time when the cistern was sealed up. The fact that no pottery of a time later than the Exile was found in it marks that period as the time when it was abandoned. But an excellent rock-hewn cistern like this would hardly be abandoned in ancient times before the city was abandoned, unless a special reason existed for doing so. That the occupation of the city continued for some time after the abandonment of the cistern is made certain by the building of a grain bin over it.

The 40th and 41st chapters of Jeremiah may hold the solution of the mystery. They relate how a noble Jew by the name of Gedaliah was appointed governor of Judea by the Babylonians after the destruction of Jerusalem; how Gedaliah chose Mizpah as the seat of his administration; how he was warned against the treachery of a certain Ishmael, but gave no credence to the warning; how he invited Ishmael and his fellow-villains to a feast, at which the latter treacherously slew Gedaliah and his companions and concealed their bodies in a nearby cistern. Since the sealed cistern which we found is nearest to the citadel tower of the south-east corner of the *tell*, and since a dead body would, according to Hebrew beliefs, render a cistern unclean, we must reckon with the possibility that this is the cistern connected with the tragedy of Gedaliah, and that it was withdrawn from use after his murder in 585 B.C. If this is the right explanation, it follows that Tell en-Nasbeh is indeed the Biblical Mizpah of Benjamin.

There were seven other cisterns, excavated out of bed-rock, which we uncovered and cleared of debris. One of them was so spacious that fifty persons would have found room on its floor. It had five

openings from which water could be drawn simultaneously. A ninth cistern was discovered on the second last day of our excavations, when we had no time to clear it. So we closed it up again and it is in reserve for next season's work.

To discuss the very rich and remarkable harvest of antiquities taken from these cisterns would lead me much too far for the necessary limits of this report. Suffice it to say that they were chiefly of the Israelite period of the city's occupation, and among them are a number of unbroken, fine, pink-and-red pitchers and water-jars dating from pre-Exilic times. A little skilful restoration work will make almost perfect specimens of many of the broken ones. A potsherd from one of the broken water-jars bore two letters, in the ancient Hebrew script, which probably are to be read : " Belonging to H——."

### *Early Bronze Age Tombs.*

On April 23rd, as I was watching two of our Egyptian workmen cleaning limestone bed-rock just within the city wall, I noticed in a depression along the edge of a low scarp a peculiar bedding of small field stones. The arrangement did not seem accidental, so I asked them not to move them, but to clean them well with a brush, because I wished to photograph them. They looked at me in questioning surprise, whereupon I remarked in Arabic, " Yimkin turbah " (possibly a tomb). They shook their heads and looked incredulous, but proceeded to carry out my directions. They were familiar with all kinds of excavated tombs, but never had found one under surface indications of that kind.

The photographs were made, and then I directed the Egyptians to take up the stones and to begin working with knives and brushes. Within five minutes deposits of funerary pottery were beginning to appear. We were indeed on the threshold of our most startling discovery—two cave tombs of very great antiquity.

One not familiar with modern methods of excavation technique might suppose that two such tombs would be emptied of their contents in a day or two. As a matter of fact it took from April 23rd until May 15th, fully three weeks, before the last pottery and skeletons were removed. The reasons for this will be better understood if I digress a little to describe conditions and methods.

As a rule ancient cave tombs are completely filled with debris from top to bottom. When, as in this case, the same tombs had been used probably for centuries, there was a gradual accumulation of materials roughly stratified. What little space was left in the upper part of the tombs when they were abandoned was gradually packed solidly with debris through thousands of years by the seepage of rain water. Hence the pottery and human remains were embedded in debris as solid as that which occurred anywhere else on the mound. In order that nothing might be broken and the evidence of position and bedding be accurately recorded, two of the Egyptians, trained in that kind of work, began slowly to remove the debris with knives and brushes. Not a bone or a vessel must be moved out of place. The earth alone is carefully scraped away until about six inches of the contents of the tomb stand out on the surface like the relief of a sculpture. Then photographs are taken of everything in place, serial numbers are placed upon the objects, and a sketch is made in which the numbered objects are shown. Then they are removed and checked on a previously made list, are placed in baskets and sent down to headquarters on the heads of the strongest and most sure-footed of the women. By the same process layer after layer is attacked, until the entire contents of the tomb have been removed. When beads or other small objects appear in the scrapings the debris is also passed through fine sieves. In this manner we recovered the greater part of a bead necklace composed of semi-precious stones.

It was apparent at the first glance that the pottery which came from the tombs was of great antiquity. Here were the ledge and lug handles characteristic of the earliest pottery known to Palestine. Under a coating of carbonate of lime, some of the pots exhibited the cross-hatched painting in stripes which, on account of its rarity, makes a museum curator's heart leap into his mouth. The experienced excavator, Dr. Clarence S. Fisher, happened to come down from Megiddo, and to our joy remained to assist us for several days, inducting us into the finer points of his technique of recording. He is probably the foremost expert on ancient Near East pottery, having handled and drawn with his own hands, during his long carreer as an excavator, more than fifty thousand pots, jars and vases of all kinds. It gave us a thrill to have him recognize among our finds shapes and forms hitherto unknown in the history of ceramics. Notable among

the new forms is a series of double cups the like of which has never been seen before, and which must have some as yet unknown religious significance.

Nearly two hundred jugs, pots, jars, bowls, cups, etc., were found in the two tombs—probably the largest collection of this type of pottery ever discovered in one place. About half of this collection was selected as a permanent scientific exhibit of the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem. The remainder comes to California for the Oriental Museum of the Pacific School of Religion.

*Age of the Tombs.*

The distinguished Palestinian archaeologist, Père H. Vincent, who visited our excavations several times, assigned the tombs in question to the Eneolithic period (3000–2500 B.C.) which marks the transition from the Stone Age to the Early Bronze Age. That antedates even the Canaanite occupation of Palestine, and the question of the racial identity of the occupants of these tombs will, therefore, have to be raised.

The human remains in the tombs were numerous. They were in a bad state of preservation, but it was possible to make out that seventy or more individuals, probably of one or two families, had there been literally "gathered unto their fathers." The remains had also been greatly disturbed at some time by persons who hunted for gold and beads, probably at the time the great city wall was built, during the Bronze Age. But several crania and parts of one skeleton were sufficiently intact to be encased in paraffin, and they have now arrived in Berkeley in order to be submitted to competent authorities for scientific study. Later they will be returned to the Anthropological section of the Palestine Museum at Jerusalem.

The cultural level of these ancient inhabitants of Mizpah is indicated by a bead necklace of carnelian, a gold ring, and a barrel bead of gold. These probably are mere remnants of valuable ornaments that were originally deposited with the dead and were removed by tomb robbers during the Bronze Age. This inference is justified by the disorder in which the skeletal remains, especially those of women, were found. It was the latter, particularly, who were buried with their ornaments of beads and gold, and consequently they suffered most at the hand of treasure hunters. Near the scanty vestiges of the skeleton of a child were found two animal toys of

clay, which probably had been dear to the youngster whose life was cut short five thousand years ago. Of absorbing interest is a bowl in which is found the imprint of the weave of a textile of those far-off days.

*Ceramics.*

While excavating on Tell en-Nasbeh we encountered everywhere an abundance of potsherds—often six or seven bushels of them in a single day. In order that we may have at the Pacific School of Religion the means and facilities for training future archaeologists, I have brought from Palestine, for our Museum, two cases full of selected potteries which illustrate the pottery sequences from the close of the Stone Age down to Graeco-Roman times, a period of three thousand years.

There are in our collection, brought from Palestine, fine specimens of the ring-burnished ware of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, and likewise specimens of the so-called "Philistine" or Aegean ware. Practical use is now being made of these materials for the instruction of fourteen students who are members of my seminar in Biblical Archaeology.

Among the special finds, which can only receive mention here, are the following: a terra-cotta head of the Babylonian goddess Astarte, whose coiffure strikingly resembles the modern feminine style of bobbed hair; a fine copper dagger and a chunk of raw copper; a blue-stone mace-head; a bone carving exhibiting probably Syro-Hittite influence; a large device roughly resembling an octopus on a wall within one of the cisterns; fragments of characteristic "Philistine" or Aegean ware; a curious jar-handle stamp not yet deciphered, and a considerable variety of potters' marks.

Preparations are going forward now for the continuation of the excavation at Tell en-Nasbeh next March. All our finds were made on an area less than an acre in extent, and the seven acres still to be excavated promise new and probably much greater revelations. It is my purpose to lay bare, among other things, the south gate, whose position has already been determined. Interesting finds may be expected at that important point as well as along the street that must have led from there through the city to the north gate. Should any reader of this Report feel moved to take a share in this new as well as continuing enterprise, the writer will be happy to hear from him.

## TELL 'AZŪR.

By H. J. Orr-Ewing, M.C., M.D., M.R.C.P.

Tell 'Azūr, the highest spot in Southern Palestine, commanding one of the best (if it is not *the* best), as it is certainly one of the most extensive, views in Palestine, rises to a height of 3,518 feet above sea-level.

It is situated at a distance of roughly 18 miles by road from Jerusalem, towering above the villages of Selwād and Taiyibeh, and is plainly visible from the Jerusalem-Nablous road as this passes through the Wadi el-Haramiyeh (the valley of robbers).

The *tell* itself is readily accessible via the new road to Taiyibeh. This road leaves the Jerusalem-Nablous road just beyond the village of Bireh, runs thence to Bethel, and leaving that site on the left, continues on round the hills, with side roads branching off on the left to 'Ain Yebrūd, and Yebrūd. At a distance of some seven miles from the main road the road in question forks just as it enters some extensive fig-gardens. The main road continues east to Taiyibeh, the other, which is all that remains of a hastily made military road for gun haulage, carries on due north. It climbs abruptly and steeply for about one mile; the surface is almost all that a surface should not be, and when you reach the top you have registered a vow that this is positively the very last time that your own tyres shall bring you up the stony track. However, a clamber of fifteen minutes from the road opens up such a view to the gaze that you come and come ever yet again, bringing new friends to "view the landscape o'er." These notes are compiled as a result of some six visits.

Tell 'Azūr is generally identified with Baal Hazor of 2 Sam. xiii, 23, where we read: "Absalom had sheepshearers in Baal Hazor,

which is beside Ephraim." Taiyibeh is generally identified with Ephraim (Ophrah) the city " near to the wilderness " of John xi, 54, and if this be allowed (even in despite of Dr. W. F. Albright) the identification of Baal Hazor with Tell ʿAzūr would be almost certain.

Presumably in Baal Hazor some ancient Canaanite deity called Hazor was worshipped and revered, and to-day on Tell ʿAzūr a clump of sacred trees, " Shadjarat el-ʿAwasēr " (the trees of el-ʿAwasēr—being the plural of ʿAzūr) are sacred to the " Rajal el-ʿAwasēr " (the men of ʿAwasēr). Here beneath the trees is no building or *moqqam*, but a few poor and small oil lamps are kept trimmed and filled in honour of the saint, or saints.

According to information collected for me by Dr. T. Canaan, there is also on the farther side of the mountain a small cave, the " Megharat il-ʿAsūr," whilst in it is a small *mihrāb* or praying-place dedicated to ʿAzūr and called Mihrāb il-ʿAsūr. Dr. Canaan also informs me that the man from whom he obtained the information stated that sacrifices are here offered to the saint as votive offerings. We saw no trace of any such procedure on any occasion. But it can hardly be doubted that we have here one of the not uncommon links with the past.

A Canaanite deity, Baal Hazor (Lord Hazor), worshipped and revered, is taken over complete when the native fellahīn assimilated Islam to their local cults, and from a Canaanite deity Hazor becomes ʿAzūr, the protective saint of the local inhabitants. He belongs to the " Ahmadiyê," or benevolent type of saint, and is as such opposed to the being who looks after the hill-top north of Selwād village, and who is an " Ajamīyê," or malignant spirit. The " immovable East " is indeed immovable. " Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose," and albeit the Canaanite worshipped a deity here, and no doubt erring Israelites also paid homage to the " god of the High Place," and in their retrograde moments " went a-whoring after strange gods," even after Hazor, he is still worshipped and reverenced by a people who have never really abandoned the old beliefs but have grafted new religions of yesterday and the day before on to the old stock.

Be that as it may, Tell ʿAzūr, accessible as it is (even at a cost of rubber), well repays a visit. There was some bitter fighting here in the war, and the shell-torn summit, with its huge " crump " holes

and its empty shell-cases and fragments, speaks eloquently of the keen struggle for possession of this point of command. As one climbs from the road, after some clambering over boulders, the group of sacred trees is reached. Curiously enough these show *no* signs of being sacred (except that they have been left untouched by the hand of the fellah); there are no votive rags tied on them, as is nearly always the case (*see* Canaan, *J.P.O.S.*, Vol. IV, Parts I and II). The oil lamps are well hidden and not to be found on a cursory examination. The trees themselves are about twenty-five in number, scattered over the western and south-western face of the summit. On passing through them we emerge upon the flat-topped summit, full of shell-holes, as described above. The top itself is perhaps half an acre in extent, and dips fairly abruptly on the north, south and west (most steeply to the south), but towards the east there is a more gradual descent to an even larger plateau, perhaps 60–70 feet lower than the summit. There are no buildings at all on the top, nor anywhere on the mountain. Robinson (*B.R.*, Vol. I, p. 448), in a footnote giving bearings from 'Alya, gives "Tell 'Azūr with a wely," and again in Vol. II, p. 264, in a footnote giving bearings from Jufna, "Tell 'Azūr with a wely," N. 48° E. (He suggests the identification with Hazor of Benjamin of Neh. xi, 33, and comments upon the way in which Heth changes into Ain, as, *e.g.*, Bet Ur from Beth Horon.) This *wely* was then visible from the west and south; it has now completely disappeared, and I could find no traces. The view from the top is noteworthy. Palestinian views can be assessed under various headings, as, *e.g.*, for extensiveness and wideness of prospect, or for beauty, or for the interest, historical or scriptural, of places to be seen, or for grandeur and weirdness. Whilst, perhaps, the view from Jebel Osha, near Es-Salt, may be more extensive, whilst the prospect from Jebel Canaan, near Safed, certainly is more beautiful, whilst perhaps in historic appeal Nebi Samwil has greater claims, and whilst the view from the Mount of Olives to some will always surpass any others, yet, on all four grounds considered together, Tell 'Azūr might well bear the palm.

The first glimpse almost takes one's breath away. There is one spot above, Bet Jala, whence the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean are both visible, but mere peeps of each. From Tell 'Azūr the whole Syrian coast is plainly visible from below the sand dunes south of Jaffa to beyond Caesarea, away up to faintly marked Carmel;

whilst, turning eastward, the Dead Sea can be distinguished gleaming blue from the north end right down to the projecting Lisan—24 miles, at least, of the world's lowest piece of water.

Northwards on a clear day Hermon can be distinctly seen at least 90 miles away; the hills of Upper Galilee are faintly visible, and in the middle distance Gerizim stands out with Ebal just peeping over the top.

As the eye travels southwards down the eastern prospect the purple wall of Gilead and Moab, rising steeply across the Ghor, reflects the light in a thousand changing, blending shades, from Hermon's snowy top to far-distant southern Kerak. One thing we miss as we scan Jabbok's rift in the wall, and mark Ajlun's volcano-like top, we can nowhere, or almost nowhere, see the Ghor. The plateau to the east cuts it off, except at one spot, where a curious little sugar-loaf catches the eye. It is Fusāil, Herod's Phasaëlis. To the south, in the far distance, are the Hebron hills, then the Bethlehem slopes and all those curious "raised map" hills on the way between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea, with flat-topped Frank Mountain (Herodium), where sleeps the unquiet spirit of Herod the Great. Nearer at hand, the two familiar landmarks of the Mount of Olives, the Russian and German towers, stand out; then, as the eye sweeps round, we pick out Bireh, Ramallah, the buildings at Emmaus (El-Kubebeh) and, of course, the mosque of Nebi Samwil, a landmark for miles. Just below us to the south-east lies white Taiyibeh, and turning round to the north-west, lies Selwād. A hundred sites far-famed in sacred and secular history are in view; there is a grandeur all it's own in this world lying at our feet. The whole "land of promise," almost from Dan, lying at Hermon's foot, to Beersheba, there beyond Hebron's surrounding hills, lies spread out before us, and we leave Tell ʿAzūr with a certain amount of sympathy for the ignorant and superstitious folk, who nevertheless felt that the inhabitant of such an eyrie must needs be a deity, a beneficent deity, and one to be honoured and reverenced.

# NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY FROM ROME TO JERUSALEM.[1]

(*Concluded from p.* 206.)

## Chapter XIII.

*Indulgences and Places of Pilgrimage in the Holy Land.*

All the Indulgences, and the Places of Pilgrimage in the Holy Land and surrounding Districts which it is customary to visit. The † indicates a plenary indulgence or one of so many years. Then follow the Indulgences and Places of Pilgrimage in Egypt and Mount Sinai.

Firstly, there is the port of Japho or Joppa, where S. Peter raised Tabitha from the dead and where S. Peter sometimes fished. Then, on the road to Jerusalem, two miles from Rama,[2] is Lydda, where S. Peter healed Aeneas that was sick of the palsy, as is related in the Acts of the Apostles, and where S. George was martyred and has a church dedicated to him. Then comes the castle of Emmaus,[3] where Christ was recognized by the disciples through the breaking of bread; there is here a ruined church and the tomb of Cleophas. Not far from here, in the direction of Jerusalem, is the city of Ramata, whence came the Prophet Samuel. Here is his sepulchre and a church visible from Jerusalem, and from this place, too, came Joseph [of Arimathea], who took Jesus down from the Cross.[4]

[1] Translated from a 16th-century Latin manuscript in his possession by H. C. Luke, C.M.G., B.Litt., M.A., sometime Assistant-Governor of Jerusalem.

[2] Ramleh.

[3] The reference to the tomb of Cleophas suggests that Qubeibeh and not Amwas is meant.

[4] The pilgrim evidently does not accept the mediaeval tradition identifying Arimathea with Ramleh, nor does he appear to have foreseen the recent theory that Arimathea and Ramathaim-Zophim, the birthplace of Samuel, are the modern village of Rentis.

*Places of Pilgrimage in the Holy City of Jerusalem.*

✝ First comes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is very large and was the scene of many mysteries, including:

✝ Calvary, where Jesus was crucified and where the Cross, after being raised, was placed in position in a hole made for the purpose, as may still be seen to-day;

The place where He was anointed on a stone and then placed in the arms of the Virgin Mary, His mother, and wrapped in a linen cloth;

The place where the Blessed Virgin and the other Marys watched from afar off while they were crucifying Him on Calvary.

✝ In the middle of this church is the most Holy Sepulchre of Christ, from which He rose again and appeared to Mary Magdalene as [she supposed] a gardener and where Mary Magdalene said to Him: "If thou hast borne Him hence, tell me where thou hast lain Him."

✝ And here is the place where Christ appeared to the Blessed Virgin Mary[1] and to certain others on the day of the Resurrection; and in this chapel a certain dead man was touched with the Cross of the Lord.[2]

✝ In the same chapel is the window, fashioned in a niche, containing a portion of the column against which Christ was scourged in the house of Pilate.

✝ In another part of the chapel is another similar window or opening, where was preserved for a long time in careful custody a portion of the True Cross; the relic is here no longer.[3] This chapel belongs to our friars of S. Francis.

In the same church is the place where Christ was held as it were in a prison while the preparations for His crucifixion were being made.[4] Next comes the chapel of the "Parting of the Raiment," for which the soldiers drew lots.

[1] The author is now referring to the Chapel of the Apparition.

[2] The reference is apparently to a miracle which occurred after the Invention of the Cross by the Empress Helena.

[3] It is the fragment which was lost at the battle of Hattin in 1187.

[4] The so-called "Prison of Christ."

† In the said Church of the Holy Sepulchre there is moreover a deeply underground chapel, where the Blessed Helena discovered the Cross of the Lord, His crown [of thorns], the nails and the head of the lance, and caused the aforesaid church and many others to be erected.

† In front of the aforesaid chapel and at a higher level is the chapel of SS. Helena and Constantine.[1]

† Yet higher is a certain chapel containing,[2] under the altar, a portion of the pillar on which Christ was crowned [with thorns], bound, mocked and scourged in the house of Pilate.

Beneath the chapel which lies below Calvary was found the head of Adam ;[3] while in the principal part of the church[4] a pierced stone is said to mark the centre of the world, because Christ suffered in the middle of the earth, as says David in the Psalms.[5]

Above the Chapel of Mount Calvary is a place somewhat higher, where they say that Abraham was about to sacrifice his son Isaac ; it is a large chapel and belongs to the Abyssinians, and there is access to it from the exterior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, whose parvis is bounded by several chapels. On the one side is the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin and S. John the Baptist ;[6] on the other, that of S. Mary Magdalene and S. John the Evangelist. In the middle of the parvis is a stone which marks, they say, the place where Christ stood for a moment with the Cross on His back and rested. The stone is broken.

Within the city of Jerusalem are several other places of pilgrimage, such as the school where the Blessed Virgin studied, the site, once a monastery and now a church, of the house where she was born, the birthplace of S. John the Evangelist and the building where S. Peter was imprisoned and delivered by an angel, passing out through the iron gate ; this place is now a prison of the Saracens. Then there is the house of S. Veronica, who gave her handkerchief to Christ to wipe the sweat off His brow while He was being led to Calvary ;

[1] The Chapel of S. Helena.

[2] The Chapel of the Apparition.

[3] The Chapel of Adam.

[4] The Cathedral of the Orthodox.

[5] Psalm lxxiv, 12 : " For God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth."

[6] Now known as the Chapel of the Agony of the Virgin.

Christ, having wiped His brow, left the imprint of His visage on the handkerchief, which to-day, it is claimed, is preserved both in Rome and in Jaen in Spain. Again, there are the House of Dives and the House of Simon, where Christ forgave Mary Magdalene her sins. There is the cross-road where Simon of Cyrene was constrained to carry the Cross. There is the place where Jesus consoled the women who bewailed and lamented Him, saying: "Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves," etc.[1] There is the place where the Virgin Mary was afflicted with a spasm and was left half dead [with grief] at seeing her son passing with the Cross.[2] There is the arch in the House of Pilate, above which Pilate showed Christ to the people with the words "*Ecce homo*"; in the same house was Christ condemned to death.

There is, moreover, the House of Herod, where Christ, clothed in a white robe, was mocked. There is the Temple of Solomon, where Christ performed so many miracles and preached; close by is the *piscina probatica*, which now contains no water. Near at hand is the Church of S. Anne, where the Blessed Mary was born. The Beautiful Gate[3] of the Temple is within the city, and near to it is the Gate through which S. Stephen was taken to be stoned. In this part of the city, too, is the Golden Gate, which is walled up and overlooks the valley of Jehoshaphat and the tomb of the Blessed Virgin. At one time this Gate was a part of the city wall and of the wall of the Temple of Solomon, and it was through this Golden Gate that Christ made His triumphal entry into the Temple on Palm Sunday, riding upon an ass.

Here follow the places of pilgrimage in the Church and monastery of Mount Zion, which monastery is now outside the walls, although at one time it was within the city. Here at one time there was a mighty church, which contained the scenes of many mysteries.

† Firstly, there is here the lofty chapel of the Last Supper, where Christ supped with His Disciples and made that Last Supper and instituted the Eucharist and washed the feet of the Disciples

[1] Luke xxiii, 28.

[2] The Church of Our Lady of the Spasm (Fourth Station of the Cross) is now the Cathedral of the Uniate Armenians.

[3] *Porta speciosa.*

and uttered that great sermon of love recorded in S. John's Gospel, and where on the day of the Resurrection He rebuked their unbelief. Beyond it is the place where the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost with tongues of fire; and below, almost underground, are the tombs of David and Solomon.

† Here is the place where on the day of the Passover Christ appeared to the Disciples, and eight days later, although the doors were shut, appeared again to S. Thomas and others. Below the Caenaculum is the place where the Virgin Mary dwelt after the Passion of Christ, and beyond it the localities where dwelt S. John the Evangelist, where S. Stephen was buried, where the Virgin Mary died and was anointed, where S. John celebrated Mass—in short, where was the premier Church of the world.[1]

† It is the place where the Virgin Mary lived for fourteen years after the death of Christ and where S. James the Less was chosen to be Bishop of Jerusalem.

† It is the place where the lot fell upon Matthias, the place whence the Disciples were sent forth to preach and where the Virgin Mary waited by the house of Caiaphas listening while they were persecuting Christ. This place is not within the Church of Mount Zion, but is at a distance from the said Church; and the House of Caiaphas, who was High Priest in that year, is now without the city walls and is in the possession of the . . .[2] Christians.

† Here is the stone which closed the entrance to the tomb of Christ; it is now an altar[3] and is held in great veneration. In this house Jesus Christ was jostled, scourged and mocked the whole night long; here Peter denied Christ and the cock crowed. All these sites are shown to the pilgrims. In this same church, which was the house of Caiaphas, is the prison where Christ remained during that night.

As we descend towards the Mount of Olives we come to the place where David did penance and composed seven Psalms, and where the Jews sought to detain the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary when the Apostles were carrying it to burial in the Valley of

[1] Until the 4th century the Caenaculum was the episcopal church of Jerusalem.

[2] There is a lacuna in the MS. at this point, the missing word being "Armenian."

[3] In the house of Caiaphas.

Jehoshaphat. Outside the city wall and a little below is the spot where S. Peter wept bitterly after denying Christ.

Likewise within the city there are other places of pilgrimage, such as the House of Annas, where Christ was buffeted; this is now the Chapel of the Angels,[1] and still contains an olive tree, to which they say that Christ was bound.

+ We visited the church[2] where took place the presentation of the Blessed Virgin, and where she remained for the years of her childhood: it is close to the Temple of Solomon and is most beautiful, being roofed with lead as is the Temple. Both the church and Temple are now Turkish mosques. On the other side, towards Mount Zion, is the church where S. James the Great was beheaded by Herod; it is now a monastery.[3]

There are yet other churches in the city visited by pilgrims, which are too numerous to be mentioned.

Here follow the places of pilgrimage in the Valley of Jehoshaphat and on the Mount of Olives.

+ In the middle of the Valley is the brook Kidron, spanned by a small stone bridge, beneath which the water runs after rain. There, in the rock, is the mark of the foot of Christ, made in that night when he passed captive and bound, and fell, as says David in the Psalms, *De torrente in via bibit.*[4] After the stream comes the tomb of Absalom, or perhaps of the King Jehoshaphat, from whom the valley takes its name. Beyond Gethsemane is the place where Christ left the eight Apostles when He went in to pray; at one time there were some houses here, but nothing is now left except stones.

+ Soon after this we reached the tomb of the Blessed Virgin, contained in a certain church in the Valley of Jehoshaphat;[5] and on the city side of the valley, facing the aforesaid tomb, is the site of the stoning of S. Stephen.

+ In the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin are likewise the tombs of SS. Joachim and Anne and of S. Joseph; while on the other side of the valley, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, is the cavern in which Christ prayed on several occasions and in His agony

[1] Also in the possession of the Armenians.
[2] The 'Aqsa mosque.
[3] Now the Armenian Cathedral of S. James.
[4] Psalm cx, 7. [5] *cf.* Chapter VIII.

sweated blood. Soon after come the places where Jesus Christ left the three Disciples, where He was seized and bound, and where the Virgin Mary stood while Stephen was being stoned.

† Ascending the Mount [of Olives] we come to the place where Christ taught His Disciples to say the Pater Noster. Here, too, is the site of the Church of S. Mark, in which the Apostles drew up their Creed.[1] Here Christ, ascending the mountain on His way to Bethany, turned and looked upon the city (which is seen here in its entirety) and, weeping over it, foretold its doom. Beyond this place is the Church of S. Pelagia or, according to some, of S. Mary of Egypt, where the saint did prolonged penance and where is her tomb. A little higher is the church marking the place where Christ ascended into Heaven and left the impression of His foot. All these things are to be seen on the aforesaid Mount of Olives, which overlooks Jerusalem. On the other side of the mountain are Bethany and Bethphage, which look eastwards. Bethphage is behind Bethany, but on a spur of the mountain which looks towards Jerusalem. In this place the angel cut the palm of the Blessed Virgin and thus indicated the day of her death. This is the place where S. Thomas received the girdle[2] from the Blessed Virgin. There is also in this neighbourhood a place called Galilee,[3] where Christ, after His Resurrection, appeared to the Apostles; this place is on the side of the Mount of Olives, on a separate summit almost equal to it in height.

We now descended to Bethphage and thence to Bethany, where are the house of Martha and Mary Magdalene[4] and the tomb of Lazarus. The latter adjoins the "castle"[5] of Martha and Mary, which was surrounded by a moat; close by is the stone on which Christ was wont to sit. A little higher up is the house of Simon the Leper, where Christ supped on that Sabbath before Palm Sunday. Now turning back towards the city by another path, we pass the place where Christ cursed the barren fig-tree. Dropping thence to

[1] The Crypt of the Creed, over which in the 15th and 16th centuries there stood a church dedicated to S. Mark.

[2] In this legend originates one of the more fanciful derivations of the term "Christians of the Girdle" (*cf.* Chapter X).

[3] The *Viri Galilaei* on the northern summit of the Mount of Olives proper, containing buildings belonging to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

[4] *sic.* (*cf.* Chapter VI).

[5] The "castle," now generally known as the "Castle of Lazarus," is a Crusading tower, built or rebuilt by Fulk of Anjou, King of Jerusalem.

the brook Kidron or the valley of Siloam, we come to the Church of S. James the Less, where Christ appeared to the saint.[1] Here the saint is buried, close to the tomb of Zacharias the son of Barachiah. On the side of the brook towards Mount Zion is the spring called of the Blessed Virgin, where the latter washed the clothes of Jesus whenever He tarried in Jerusalem.[1] Lower down and at the foot of Mount Zion is the Pool of Siloam, whose water reaches it from the former spring by a subterranean channel. In both these springs the Moors wash every kind of filth. Above it is the place where Isaiah was sawn asunder by order of King Manasseh, his kinsman, and was buried beneath the tree. Close by, on another hill-side, is the field Aceldama, bought with the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas sold Christ. This field was bought as a burial-place for pilgrims, and even to-day many unburied bodies are to be seen there, because it is surrounded by high walls and is roofed.[1]

Here follow the Indulgences and Places of Pilgrimage in Bethlehem, Christ's birthplace, and in its neighbourhood on either side of the road.

As you go from Jerusalem to Bethlehem you pass, on the right, and distant two miles more or less from Jerusalem, the traces of the house of Simeon, who held Jesus in his arms. Next comes the place where the Star appeared to the Magi, who rejoiced greatly thereat; here there is a well. Next, on the right, is the house of the Prophet Habakkuk, who was transported to Babylon in order to bring food to Daniel while he was in the lions' den. Farther on, on the left of our road, are the house and church standing on the site of the birth of the prophet Elijah;[2] while close by, on the right, is the house of Jacob. The tomb of Rachel lies one mile on this side of Bethlehem, otherwise Ephrata, or the "House of Bread," where bread descended from heaven.

Here in Bethlehem is the grotto where Christ was born, now surmounted by a great church with four orders of columns, numbering fifty-two in all. Formerly the walls of the church were entirely covered with mosaics and paved with most beautiful marble, but the Turks have destroyed everything. In the underground grotto is the birthplace of the Lord, beneath an altar; in another part of the grotto is the manger where Jesus was laid and, close by, the altar

[1] *cf.* Chapter VIII. [2] *cf.* Chapter VII.

marking the spot where the Virgin Mary displayed Jesus for the adoration of the Magi. In another part of the said grotto or chapel is a hole marking the place where the Star, which had guided the Magi, disappeared and was no more seen.[1] Outside the grotto, in the upper church on the left, the Magi stopped to prepare the gifts they were about to offer to the King of Glory, and here is the door leading into the grotto. In the upper church to the right is the altar where Christ was circumcised and where He received the name of Jesus in accordance with the angel's announcement. Close by is the tomb of the Holy Innocents and the well into which they were cast. Here likewise are the tombs of SS. Jerome, Paula and Eustochium and of Eusebius, the companion of S. Jerome, and the place where S. Jerome translated the Holy Scriptures. Adjoining the church is the latter's monastery. Outside the church is a cave, entered by a small door, in which the Blessed Virgin Mary gave suck to her son and remained for some time hidden, probably from fear at the time of the massacre of the Innocents. The pilgrims take pieces of the earth of this grotto for the use of women who have no milk.[1] A little higher is the church where the angel instructed Joseph to flee into Egypt. A mile from Bethlehem is the place where the angel announced to the shepherds that Jesus Christ was born, a place formerly adorned by a fine church. Half-way along the road is the village of those shepherds,[2] and close by it the tomb of twelve prophets.

Five miles from the Dead Sea can be seen the site of the vineyard of Engedi, and from five miles farther to the south is visible Bethulia.[1] Running down to the Dead Sea is a valley containing the monastery of S. Sabbas, in whose time the monastery and valley were inhabited by 14,000 monks. Near the mountain is the village which was the home of the saint ; while in the other direction, towards Jaffa, is the place where David slew Goliath.[3]

Here follow the Places of Pilgrimage in the Mountains of Judaea.

Not far from Bethlehem is the place where Saul was anointed king, and next is reached the fountain of S. Philip, where the saint baptized the eunuch of Queen Candace. There was once a church here, now destroyed.[1]

[1] *cf.* Chapter VII. [2] Beit Sahur. [3] *cf.* Chapter X.

† Farther on is the place where the Blessed Virgin saluted Elizabeth and composed the Magnificat. Here at one time there was a large church, as also on the site of the birth of S. John the Baptist, which two places are three or four bow-shots away from one another. Now both churches are used as enclosures for cattle—May the Lord be praised in all His works. Here Zacharias, the father of John, asked for a writing-tablet and wrote : " His name is John " ; and here he uttered the canticle *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.* These two places are distant both from Jerusalem and Bethlehem six or seven miles ; while three or four miles from here is the Desert of S. John the Baptist, whither as a child of five the Baptist fled to do penance so that his life might be without stain. Here, too, there was once a handsome church, and there is a spring, whose water runs away among the rocks. The place is very arid and desert.

Next we come to Anatot,[1] the birthplace of the Prophet Jeremiah. Returning towards Jerusalem you perceive that Monastery of the Greeks,[2] built over the place where grew the tree of which was made the *suppedaneum* placed under the feet of Christ on the Cross, so that His feet might the more easily be nailed to the Cross. It is distant from three to four miles from Jerusalem, and the tree seems to have been an olive ; beneath the altar they show you a hole where this olive grew.

Gaza or Gazara, where Samson died, together with many Philistines, lies towards Egypt.

Here follow the places of pilgrimage in Hebron and along the road thither.

Hebron, where David reigned for seven years, as we read in the first Book of the Kings, is about twenty-five miles distant from Jerusalem and contains a double sepulchre, in which are buried those mighty Patriarchs of old—Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob—and their wives. Here is the Vale of Mamre with its great vineyard, filling the entire valley, and in the same valley near Hebron is the field where Adam, the first man, was created. And here was the vine planted by Noah ; there is still shown one specimen as tall as a man, which is very old and is said to be one of those planted by Noah.

[1] Anathoth is the modern 'Anata ; but some 16th-century pilgrims have mistakenly identified it with Qariet al-'Enab (Abu Ghosh).

[2] The monastery of the Cross (*cf.* Chapter VII).

Little portions of this are taken away by the pilgrims for devotional purposes, the wood inside being a deep red.[1] A little way up the hill at the side of this same valley is the place, marked by three shoots springing from a single root of an ilex tree, where Abraham, seeing the three angels, entertained them and worshipped one of them. Not far away is the Church of the Forty Martyrs and, a little higher up, the cave in which Adam and Eve did penance, so they say, for their sins. Farther on to the left is the place where Cain slew his brother Abel, although some say that this crime was committed on a certain hill-side near Damascus, as we mentioned above. But God alone knows the truth.

Hebron, which is inhabited by Saracens, contains, as I have said, the tombs of the Patriarchs, but the latter are not visible, as the Saracens have included them in their mosque, into which they allow neither Christians nor Jews to enter. The same is the case with their other mosques. We were allowed to see, through a gate, a hole in the wall, which is said to communicate with the aforesaid sepulchre; but nothing of the latter was visible.

Returning in the direction of Bethlehem and Jerusalem you see, nearly two miles from Hebron, the place of Isaac's circumcision and, farther on, about half way, the *fons signatus* of Solomon and the site of some palaces. Close by are the three great Pools of Solomon, situated one behind the other and occupying the entire breadth of the valley in which they lie. These were capable of holding a great quantity of water, but nowadays only the last of them is filled, the water being conducted from it into Jerusalem along a stone aqueduct cut in the hill-side. Below the Pools is the *hortus conclusus* of Solomon, even to-day a place delightful and fresh and green and enclosed by the hills of Judaea. Between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and close to the latter, we see to the right of the road on a certain hillock the House of Evil Counsel, where the Priests and the Pharisees and the Scribes made their final decree that Christ should die.

Here follow the places of pilgrimage by the River Jordan and its neighbourhood.

Here is the place and monastery[2] where S. Joachim, the father of the Virgin, dwelt among the shepherds when he was expelled from

[1] *cf.* Chapter VII.

[2] Now the Orthodox Monastery of S. George or Khouziba in the Wadi al-Qelt.

the Temple because he had no part there. Then there is the place where the Samaritan, descending from Jerusalem to Jericho, fell among thieves and was wounded by them.

† Near Jericho is the house of that blind man who cried out "Jesus, son of David, have mercy on me." And here is the Mountain called Quarantena, where Jesus Christ fasted for forty days and forty nights. On the summit is a chapel whither Christ was led by the Devil, who said to Him, as he showed Him all the parts of the world: "If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine." And here is the town of Jericho where Christ was entertained in the house of Zachaeus and where He healed a second blind man who cried to Him: "Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me." Next there is the place and monastery of S. John the Baptist, where John baptized, preached and did penance. There is the river Jordan, where Christ was baptized by S. John the Baptist, and likewise the monastery of S. Jerome, set in a great wilderness. At the foot of the valley through which the Jordan flows is the Dead Sea, where those five cities were overthrown or burned up. Beyond the river Jordan is the desert of S. Mary of Egypt, and beyond the Dead Sea is the statue of Lot's wife, who was turned into salt.[1]

Here follow the Places of Pilgrimage of Nazareth and of Galilee and those which are encountered on the road.

Ten miles after leaving Jerusalem appears the fountain of Elibir,[2] where the Blessed Virgin and Joseph discovered that Christ was no longer in their company. Beyond this spring, where is a Church of S. Mary, is the place where one day the Blessed Virgin discovered her son preaching. Beyond, in Samaria, and thirty miles or more distant from Jerusalem, is Sichar, where is Jacob's Well, beside which Christ converted the Samaritan woman. In this city of Sichar, which is now Nablos or Napulosa, are buried, so they say, the bones of Joseph after they had been brought out of Egypt. Five miles beyond Sichar is the city of Sebaste, where John the Baptist was beheaded. Here is a monastery of the Greeks and here was the palace of Herod. Farther on is the castle called Janim,[3] where Christ healed those ten leprous men; and then comes the valley of Terebei. Next follows that city of Nazareth, where the Word was made Flesh.

[1] *cf.* Chapter X.

[2] Al-Bireh (*cf.* Chapter IX).

[3] Jenin (*cf.* Chapter X).

Here is the Church of the Blessed Virgin, now, however, the habitation of Moors and robbers and in a deplorable condition. At the right, towards the Sea of Galilee, is the city of Naim, where Christ restored to life the son of the widow. It is situated on the side of the mountain about two miles from Mount Thabor. Mount Thabor, where Christ was transfigured, is a most beautiful mountain, shaped like an egg. On one of its sides near the summit is visible a certain church, but the latter is half in ruins. Next comes Dotaim, about a mile from the Sea of Galilee.

The Sea of Galilee or the Lake of Tiberias, where Christ performed so many miracles and which He crossed so often, was once surrounded by many cities built on its shores. Of such was Bethsaida, now Minim, the birthplace of Peter and Andrew; another was Capernaum, where Christ performed so many miracles that it was called "His own city." But now it is so utterly destroyed that there has been fulfilled His saying: "And thou, Capernaum," etc.[1] On the Galilean shore of the Lake is Tiberias, where there are now a few Moors. It was from here or from Capernaum that Jesus called Matthew, and it was here[2] that he raised the son of the ruler of the synagogue and ate with Matthew and with publicans. Close by is the mountain where Chirst filled the multitude of fifty thousand people with five loaves, while beyond it is that other mountain where He filled four thousand people with seven loaves. This Sea of Galilee is distant from Jerusalem a good three days' journey, as is also Nazareth.

To the left of this road, towards the sea and not very far from the parts about Mount Thabor, is Cana of Galilee, where Christ changed the water into wine at the marriage feast. Then we ascend into Galilee, as it is said in the first chapter of the Book of Tobias. There appears here, let into the wall of a certain fountain, a stone bearing the impression of a man's right hand, said to be that of Christ. In this place is shown a withered tree, in which it is said that Christ rendered himself invisible. The place is inhabited by many Spanish Jews. Descending from Caphet towards the Mediterranean, a day's journey brings us to Tyre, and another, along the coast, to Sidon, of which cities the Gospel says: "Jesus departed into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon," etc. Another day's journey brings us to Barut, where S. George delivered the king's daughter and slew the

[1] Matthew xi, 23.

[2] *sc.* Capernaum (*cf.* John v, 46 *sqq.*; Matt. ix, 10).

dragon. The site of this event is one mile from Barut, while in Barut itself is the church of S. George, now, however, a mosque of the Saracens. In the confines of Tyre and Sidon Christ healed the daughter of the woman of Canaan.[1]

Here follow the Places of Pilgrimage in Damascus.

Close by Damascus is the scene of the conversion of Paul, and from out of one of the gates of the city, now walled up, he was led away because he preached Christ. In the Street which is called Straight, Paul was baptized in a building which is now a mosque. Likewise by this city gate, which is called S. Paul's Gate, is the house of Ananias, who baptized Paul. Outside Damascus is shown a certain mountain on which Cain is said to have slain Abel, but it is more likely that this deed took place in Hebron, as we have said above.

Here follow the Places of Pilgrimage in Syria.

As we have mentioned, it was in Barut that S. George slew the dragon. In Tripoli, a city lying farther to the north, is the spot where S. Marina was falsely accused of committing the sin of the flesh with the son of Bubulci. Farther northward, on the shore of the Mediterranean, is the town of Laodicea, which was once a mighty city and still possesses many churches, especially that of S. Saviour. A two days' journey brings us to the city of Antioch on the river Orontes, otherwise called Asse.[2] Here S. Peter had his papal seat for seven years, and there are still, as we have seen, several churches as well as the complete city wall, which is more than twelve miles in circuit. The city is entirely ruined except for about a thousand houses in one corner, which are inhabited by Saracens. Antioch once possessed a very fine harbour fifteen to twenty miles away, by the sea. There are several other holy places in Syria, but we were not able to see them.

[1] Matt. xv, 21 *sqq.* (*cf.* Chapter IX).

[2] Al-'Asi (literally "the rebel"), the name given to the Orontes by the Arabs around Antioch and Hama, either because, unlike most other rivers in Syria, it flows from south to north, or because, in so doing, it left, in Crusading times, the lands of Islam for the Christian principality of Antioch.

## Chapter XIV.

### *Places of Pilgrimage in Egypt and Sinai.*

Here follow the Places of Pilgrimage in Egypt.

There is shown in Alexandria of Egypt the place where S. Katharine was beheaded, this Saint, according to several Cypriotes, being a native of the city of Salamis, which is now Famagusta. Then there is the place where S. Mark celebrated Mass on Easter Day, whereupon the pagans bound him by the neck with a rope, and dragged him hither and thither until he was done to death by the sea-shore, where he was buried. This spot was once marked by a church, but the Saint's body now rests in Venice, although it was in Alexandria that he died and was first buried, while S. John the Eleemosynary [died] in the New Babylon, which is now Cairo.

There are here many churches of non-Latin Christians of various sects, among them that known as S. Maria Colona, in which was buried S. Barbara, Virgin and Martyr. Then there is the church of the Jacobites in which, or on the site of which, the Blessed Virgin Mary is said to have dwelt with her son Jesus and with Joseph during her flight into Egypt from the persecution of Herod, the very post being shown where the Virgin was in the habit of lying down with the child Jesus. Again, there is the vineyard or garden of Balsam, which is preserved with great veneration, together with the adjacent fountain of the Virgin Mary and a chapel. This place, too, which, as the Saracens say, was inhabited by the Blessed Virgin and her son Jesus, is the object of great veneration.[1] Next there is the monastery of S. Paul the first Eremite and of S. Macarius and of other saints, while at a distance of forty miles from Cairo is the place called [*illegible*], where the Blessed Virgin is said to have tarried with her son for seven years with Joseph. It is now a monastery of the Jacobites known as al-Marath, and its principal feast is celebrated on Palm Sunday. Others say that the Holy Family dwelt in Babylon, that is to say, Cairo. Howsoever, both places are in Egypt.

Here follow the Places of Pilgrimage in Mount Sinai.

This Mount Sinai is distant from Jerusalem fifteen days, or rather more, by the desert route; but should you wish to travel through Alexandria and Cairo, then the journey becomes one of twenty or

[1] *cf.* Chapter XII.

twenty-five days from Jerusalem. On this mountain is the church called S. Mary of the Bush, where lies the body of S. Katharine, Virgin and Martyr.

Behind the high altar of the said church is the chapel where God appeared unto Moses in the middle of the Burning Bush, the bush being observed to be unconsumed by the fire. Almost half-way up Mount Sinai is the place where the Prophet Elijah did penance, and on the summit is the spot where God gave the Tables of the Law unto Moses. Close by is the place where Moses prayed when God called him and sent him to Pharaoh to deliver the people of Israel. At the foot of the mountain is a monastery and the Church of the Forty Martyrs—a pleasant and green spot. Not far away is the scene of the penance of S. Onuphrius.

There is in this neighbourhood another and very lofty mountain, whither the angels of God bore the body of S. Katherine from Alexandria and guarded it there unburied for 300 years.[1] It was then discovered and taken to a lower altitude and laid in the monastery in which it is now, so that the monks might live more comfortably. Then there is the stone or rock of Horeb, which, when struck by Moses with his rod at the Lord's command, gave forth an abundant jet of water. From here it is little more than a day's journey to the Red Sea, which the children of Israel crossed dry-shod. Then there is the spring of Moses, which is called the Waters of Murmuring because the children of Israel would not obey Moses and Aaron and the Lord their God, nor would they believe that from the rock could come flowing water.[2] In the vicinity are the twelve wells and three score and ten palm trees, where the people of Israel encamped, as it is written[3] . . .

[End of the MS.]

[1] *cf.* Chapter XI. [2] Exod. xv, 23–24. [3] Exod. xv, 27.

# ISRAELITE TRADITION AND THE DATE OF JOSHUA.

By W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O.

The new conclusions of Prof. Watzinger regarding the chronology of ancient Jericho (Tell es-Sultân)[1] will doubtless have aroused much interest. It will be recalled that three "cities" of Jericho were revealed by excavation, and these were distinguished by colours as the blue, red and green cities respectively. Prof. Watzinger has been working over his old materials in the light of subsequent excavations in Palestine, and has found it necessary to correct the dates originally assigned to these three periods. His conclusion now is that the "Red," or middle, city goes back to the beginning of the second millennium B.C., and that its destruction is to be dated before the middle of that millennium, "perhaps soon after 1600 B.C." This destruction he connects with the invasion of Canaan by desert tribes pressing in from the east. Thenceforward until the 10th or 9th century B.C. the site remained desolate, and Prof. Watzinger's inference from this fact is that "in the time of Joshua Jericho was a heap of ruins on which stood perhaps a few isolated huts."[2]

There are certain of these conclusions, and in particular that one which relates to Joshua, which cannot be allowed to pass without criticism, and inasmuch as not only the date and reality of the traditional Israelite invasion of Canaan is impugned, but also the trustworthiness of Israelite tradition as a whole, I venture to submit what I regret can only be a hasty and imperfect survey of this important problem.

## I.

To many readers of the *Quarterly Statement* Prof. Watzinger's conclusions may appear to need no discussion. It is the prevailing fashion to-day to assume that the Exodus took place in the reign of

[1] *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1926, pp. 131 *sqq.*; summarized in P.E.F. *Q.S.*, October, 1926, p. 207 *sq.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 135: "Zur Zeit Josuas war . . . Jericho eine Trümmerstätte, auf der vielleicht noch vereinzelte Hütten standen."

Pharaoh Merenptah (*c.* 1225-1215 B.C.), and so firmly has this idea been allowed to take root that it seems almost idle to plead for an open mind on the subject. Yet it is of this hypothesis that Prof. Peet, who has recently subjected the whole problem to a searching re-examination, records the following considered judgment (*Egypt and the Old Testament*, 1922, p. 103): "The evidence for the belief that Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus . . . can only be described as so flimsy that it is difficult to see how the belief can ever have arisen." Those who will take the trouble to study that evidence for themselves with unbiased minds can hardly fail to agree with Prof. Peet as to the flimsiness with which he charges this theory. For our present purpose it is sufficient to say that the strongest objection which we find to urge against it is that it is completely opposed to the whole of Israelite tradition, and that it ought therefore to be made to wait its turn until that tradition has been once for all discredited in the light of all the evidence that is available. Prof. Peet finds it "difficult to see how the belief can ever have arisen." I would venture to reply that it has arisen just because the available evidence has not been scientifically examined. Instead, there has been a marked over-eagerness on the part of some scholars to press the conclusions of a single branch of that evidence (namely, the Higher Criticism) far beyond their legitimate limits; to assume, that is to say, that because certain features of Biblical tradition were discredited (like the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch) or regarded as frankly incredible (like the miracles), it necessarily followed that the *whole* of Israelite tradition was, if not incredible, at least so seriously discredited as to be no longer reliable. The question here, it will be noted, is not whether Moses did or did not write the books ascribed to him, or whether certain supernatural phenomena did or did not occur in the early history of Israel; the question simply is whether the existence of such traditional beliefs is any argument against the substantial accuracy of the tradition as a whole.

Now, it must be obvious that the *date* at which an oral tradition is committed to writing is not by itself an adequate test of the trustworthiness of the tradition itself. There may indeed be other factors (such as a marked "tendency" to "interpret" historical events or magnify national successes) which will probably characterize a late rather than an early source, and which must necessarily be employed to judge the credibility of a narrative. But when such

factors are absent the mere date of the document has no bearing on the matter at all. To take an example: the Song of Deborah is admittedly more ancient than the prose narrative of the same events which in our Bible precedes it: but that fact in itself does not in the least preclude the possibility that the prose version may be actually nearer to the truth than the poem: it may or it may not, but the date alone cannot decide. In like manner the fact that Moses did not personally compose our present Pentateuch has no kind of bearing on the value of the traditions which it contains. These may be true, or they may be false, or they may be a mixture of truth and error: but unless we have grave reason to suspect them of being deliberate fabrications, the question of the date and authorship of the Pentateuchal documents is quite irrelevant.

We may consider next the evidence of the traditional language. How do these affect the credibility of the narrative in which they occur? I would propose here a criterion which has at least the merit of being based on common sense: "*If the event narrated could have taken place without any 'miraculous' intervention, and if there were for the national or tribal tradition which preserves it as so highly to render it naturally memorable, then there is (to say the least) no ground for doubting its substantial accuracy.*" Here, once more, it may be well to remind the reader that neither belief nor disbelief in miracles is involved. The object of this test is to guard against the over-hasty assumption that IF it can be shown that "miracles never happen" the whole of the rest of the story is equally a figment of the imagination. To take two concrete examples of its application: we desire to contend that *even if* the walls of Jericho never fell before the Ark, the city itself may well have fallen before Joshua: *even if* the sun and moon did not stay their course over Ajalon, there may well have been light enough to win the battle of Beth-horon. These stories (we shall admit) have still to be tested by external evidence if and when available; but as *conceivable matters of fact* no embellishment of imaginative or fabulous circumstance can disprove them.

If proof is sought for the probable correctness of these arguments, it is to be found close at hand in the strikingly parallel story of Greek mythology. Exactly the same kind of literary criticism was launched against the *Iliad* as that which was afterwards applied to the Bible. The epic, it seemed, was not composed by Homer at all,

but was the work of a number of poets writing at different times. The date at which it received its final form was left uncertain, but it was necessarily much lower than that assigned by tradition. As for the contents of the poem, these were so obviously mythical (as the supernatural part played by the gods and goddesses of Olympus sufficiently indicated) that it was not even worth considering whether there ever was an Ilium, much less whether there were any such persons as the Achæans. To-day the ruins of Troy are amongst the familiar facts of archæology: the names of Atreus and Achaia have been discovered in Hittite documents contemporary with the traditional date of its fall; and this is only a small corner of the veil which has been lifted from the past. One by one the immemorial legends of Cnossos and Tiryns and Mycenæ have found their long-lost warrants in their mother-earth. The civilization and sea power of Minoan Crete, the reflected radiance of what we now call the Helladic culture of the mainland, the appearance of the Achæan invaders, their triumphs and their ultimate fall before the inroads of the Dorians, all these, which were so long familiar to students of Greek mythology, are passing back now from mythology into fact. No one stops to-day to reflect how these legends came to be enshrined in literature or at what date they were first committed to writing. The spade has proved them true. No one worries about the fabulous atmosphere which usually surrounds them. We know now that this has not affected the substantial accuracy of the facts. We know now that *even if* there were no Minotaur in Crete, there was most certainly a great Minoan monarchy; *even if* there were no Helen and no gods at Ilium, there most undoubtedly was a "Siege of Troy."

It is rightly urged to-day that we must be strictly scientific in our treatment of the Biblical records and must especially avoid all kinds of prejudices, religious or otherwise. By all means let us do so; only let us be quite sure that we *do* avoid them. Let us by all means apply to Israelite folk-lore the canons of criticism which we apply to Hellenic folk-lore; but let us be quite sure that we *are* applying them! The trouble with so many Biblical critics is that they seem to do nothing of the kind. The mere fact that on one shore of the Mediterranean the traditional memories of an ancient people are almost every day finding new corroboration might have been expected, on another shore of that sea, at least to protect the

traditions of another ancient people from light-hearted "re-interpretation." It might at least have suggested the wisdom of preserving towards the untested legends of Israel that careful agnosticism which historians like Grote observed in the old days towards the myths of Hellas. But this is just what has not been done. Without a fragment of clear archaeological evidence to confirm or even to check their theories, these critics have contrived to pick the simple Biblical traditions to pieces and "reconstruct" them in complicated patterns of their own. Not content with affirming a date for the Exodus which was more than two centuries below the lowest traditional figure, they have gone on to play havoc with the invasion of Canaan itself. We learn with surprise that the story of an attack from the east of Jordan by a united nation of twelve tribes under a single leader is not only erroneous, but wildly erroneous. Of these twelve tribes, some, it appears, were located in Palestine already, having never left that country to sojourn in Egypt: others, which had indeed come out of the Delta with the "main body," broke off from it in the wilderness and invaded Canaan from the south, so that when Joshua made his belated appearance from across Jordan (with what remained to him of the children of Israel) they had already been in possession of their part of the Promised Land for some considerable time. After this it indeed is but a short step to what seems to be the most recent phase of the "story," namely, that there was no siege of Jericho at all, from which no doubt it will shortly be deduced that there was no invasion of Canaan from across Jordan and no Joshua to lead it!

Lest the trend of our argument should be misunderstood, it may be well to point out that what is assailed here is not an unreadiness to believe the Biblical narrative on its own unsupported testimony, but a readiness to disbelieve it before it has been tested by all the evidence that is relevant and available. A few very dubious archaeological data have been gathered from Egypt, and on the strength of these the whole edifice of Israelite tradition has been pulled down. Now, quite apart from the obvious inadvisability of building upon such data before the sites of Palestine have disclosed their own information, the still more serious complaint has to be made that the anthropological and psychological aspects of the question have been left entirely out of the reckoning. It is here that the evidence of the legends of Greece should have been considered, for the evidence of

these legends is that of an immemorial tradition which is being steadily proved true. That fact by itself must not, of course, be over-driven, but it opens out the more general, and certainly most relevant, question of the causes which go to create such tradition and the forces which tend to preserve its substantial accuracy through the ages. It can hardly escape notice that these stories of ancient Greece deal with the heroic achievements of a few aristocratic families, ruling as overlords in the midst of a conquered and alien population. They seem, in short, to have been "sagas" bred of the pride of race and preserved (perhaps unconsciously) to keep that pride alive, and they survived because they were adopted later as the legends of a people whose racial pride was as intense as any that the world has known. Surely, then, at the outset of the inquiry a useful parallel might have suggested itself between the legends of a people who called the rest of the world "Barbarians" and the legends of a people who called the rest of the world "Goyyim." That instinct which these two peoples had in common, the instinct of racial pride, which is also the instinct of racial self-preservation, must naturally make for a tenacious racial tradition. Deeds of prowess may, it is true, be exaggerated and defeats minimized, but the "racial memory" as a whole can (it would seem) be trusted not to forget the chief events of its legendary past. A striking example of this tenacity of memory and fidelity to tribal tradition, based on the same instinct of racial pride, is to be found in a very different quarter, namely, among the *pure-breed* Bantu tribes of South-East Africa. It is adduced here not merely as an additional link in the argument, but because it affords an interesting parallel with certain features of early Israelite history.[1] "Every Bantu tribe," we are told, "has from time immemorial . . . possessed a special caste of narrators of the prowess and achievements of its people and chiefs, men whose memories were capable of retaining the largest amount of cherished folk-lore, men specially initiated, trained, and set apart from their youth . . . special keepers of tradition, the members of a priestly order." . . . "These verbal traditions, recounted over and over again, would thus be handed down from generation to generation, any variation in tradition . . .

[1] This parallel was adduced by me in a course of lectures delivered some years ago to the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. As it seems unlikely that these will now be published, I make no apology for repeating it here.

being regarded as an insult to their ancestors and as an offence against the whole tribe." (R. N. Hall, *Prehistoric Rhodesia*, 1909, p. 128.)

It is not astonishing, after reading these statements, to learn that "genealogical tables of dynastic chiefs of several distinct Bantu tribes extend to ten, sixteen, and even twenty generations" (*ib.*, p. 129).

Parallels of this kind can doubtless be pressed too far, but no one who has once studied them and who has reflected how forcibly they bear upon the history of ancient Israel will hold himself entitled to take light-hearted liberties with the traditional events and chronology of the Old Testament. He will feel considerable hesitation in believing that the chroniclers of the "Chosen People" were guilty of blunders and exaggerations which a primitive African would ridicule. The very fact that national defeats and humiliations are so unsparingly disclosed will make him pause before he condemns these records as untrustworthy. He will probably find it hard to credit that the interval of nearly 500 years, which forms the traditional span between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's Temple, should really be reduced to a period of less than half that number. He will reflect that this portentous exaggeration, if it is genuine, has been made by a people possessed of an almost unique national self-consciousness and a pride in its treasured customs and privileges which is entirely dependent upon the events of its past history. He will search for signs of deliberate falsification and he will find everywhere in these same records the traces of a rigid desire for truth. Finally, he will ask himself whether such an error could conceivably be accidental, and he will ask that question only to dismiss it. A national "memory" that cannot last out a couple of centuries is not the memory of a people which has preserved its integrity to the present day.

## II.

So far we have considered the general question of the trustworthiness of Israelite tradition. We have claimed that even were its character far more dubious than it is, it ought in common fairness to have been allowed to tell its own story until such a time as that story could be tested by a sufficient body of external evidence. In view, however, of the peculiar race-consciousness of the Chosen People, we have felt justified in claiming more than this. Quite

apart from any religious question of "inspiration," we are able to urge the *a priori* trustworthiness of a national record which has been the chief factor in preserving Israel through the ages. On both grounds, then, we have been constrained to protest against critical speculations which, without taking count of these factors and with only the most slender archaeological support, attempt to reconstruct the Israelite legend and end by mutilating it out of all recognition.

We turn now to the particular case in point, the relation between the ruins of Jericho and the Israelite invasion of Canaan. We return also to Prof. Watzinger's conclusions that the "Red" city was destroyed before the middle of the 2nd millennium, "perhaps soon after 1600 B.C.," and that in the time of Joshua the site was desolate . . . "a heap of ruins on which stood perhaps a few isolated huts." A clear cut-and-dried statement of this kind may have an almost mesmeric effect upon the uninitiated. But what are the facts? Let us begin with Prof. Watzinger's proposed dating, which gives us a range of years between 1600 and 1500 B.C., the balance of probability inclining towards the earlier portion of this period. Before we can accept these figures, it is of the highest importance to know on what evidence they are based: for there are considerations both general and particular which militate strongly against any kind of precision in this matter. In the first place, even on a site excavated to-day, with all our increased knowledge of Palestinian archaeology, it may be difficult and even impossible to draw any hard-and-fast dividing line within the chronology of the Bronze Age. This was certainly so at Ascalon, where the strata showed no more than a very gradual, and at times almost imperceptible, development and alteration of vase-types, from the earliest stages of the Bronze Age down to its abrupt conclusion at the beginning of the 12th century. *Then*, indeed, you have a break as sharp and decisive as a sword-blade, and perhaps the most conspicuous feature in Palestinian ceramics. But the Bronze Age itself will require a much more profound investigation before we can subdivide its stages with any approach to chronological precision. I submit this confidently in spite of the fact that we do at present divide it into Early, Middle and Late periods, and in spite, too, of the fact that there are certain sites to which this division has been conveniently and successfully applied. Success over a certain area must not, after all, conceal the fact that this framework is nothing more than a convenient working hypothesis, and that it

may not be at all practicable to force the chronology of any particular site into it. The recent discoveries at Tell en-Nasbeh (*Q.S.*, October, 1926, p. 209) afford an interesting example of the difficulties which so often confront a rigid tabulation of this kind. Here is a site within a few miles of Jerusalem which is producing vases of a type "entirely new" to Palestinian archaeology. What warrant have we for supposing that the much more remote and isolated site of Jericho may not have had, if not a culture, at least a chronology, of its own? How can we tell that vase-types which were popular on the maritime plain at one period may not have taken a much longer time to reach this distant city in the Jordan valley—or may never have reached it at all? Here are two questions which certainly cannot be answered off-hand, and they are enough to suggest that the division of the Bronze Age chronology of Jericho may not be at all the simple matter that it seems to be.

But the matter cannot rest there. There is a second and more particular consideration to be examined before we yield our assent to Prof. Watzinger's new dating. It has, of course, been known for a long time to archaeologists that the original chronology proposed for the successive phases of the city must be modified, or rather readjusted, in the light of subsequent discoveries and (more particularly) of our very much-increased knowledge of Palestinian ceramics. The only question that arises is how far such a readjustment should go, and this in turn depends upon what materials are now available for this task. Presumably, as the site itself has been abandoned for 17 years, they consist of the published Report itself and of what remains of the old field records of the excavators. Now, these may be, and no doubt are, quite ample enough to enable Prof. Watzinger, in the light of recent knowledge, to read "Bronze Age" where he before read "Iron Age" in his chronological table. But I would ask any experienced archaeologist whether such data, reconsidered after a lapse of thirteen years, can be relied upon to fix an arbitrary date in the middle of so uncertain an epoch as the Bronze Age. Doubtless the temptation to do so is a strong one. Anyone who has worked on a site knows well the persuasive effect of field records when they are conned over afterwards in the study. It is almost impossible to imagine that they do not contain *all* the material that was turned up by the spade. But the humiliating fact is that they do not. There is a blind side to every human brain, and it may well happen

that evidence which would have been all-important dropped out of sight because its value was not recognized at the time. Consider now the site in question and the date at which it was excavated. At that time very little indeed was known of Palestinian ceramics. The science of pottery-fragments which now bulks so largely was by then hardly born: and hence it must necessarily have followed that while all whole vases and a certain selection of fragments peculiar for their form or decoration were preserved and recorded, the enormous mass of "ordinary" sherds was thrown on one side. If Prof. Watzinger and Prof. Sellin assure us that this was not so, I will most humbly apologize, but even so I should be entitled to point out that the true significance of much that was temporarily preserved for study was not, and *could not*, at that time have been appreciated, and is therefore lost for ever. I submit, in short, that if it is desired at this day to fix the chronology of the "Red" Bronze Age city in any more than the most general terms, nothing less than a thorough re-examination of the site itself will satisfy the requirements of the task. If this is not undertaken, I would urge that we should be content with a more modest formula and say that this "Red" city was founded about the middle of the Bronze Age and that it was destroyed before the Bronze Age came to an end.

By whom, then, was it destroyed? I ask in turn, "What is there to prevent it from having been destroyed by Joshua?" If this site had been in any other country we should naturally try to discover if there were any local traditions about it. Why should we not do the same in Palestine? It will no doubt be replied that this test has already been applied to Jericho and that it has failed. But has it failed? Or, rather, has it ever been applied? Have not the archaeological data been deprived *beforehand* of all their value by being forced into comparison with a false chronology? We have only to examine the facts without any preconceptions to discover the answer. Here is a city destroyed before the end of the Bronze Age by desert tribes pressing in from the east (this is Prof. Watzinger's own belief). Here is a tradition preserved by one of the most conservative peoples in history that this very city (*i.e.*, a city on this very site) was destroyed by *their* tribes invading Canaan from the desert on the east. If the conclusion does not seem obvious, it is surely, on scientific grounds alone, worthy of examination. If hitherto we have been careful not to tamper with Israelite chronology, we ought

to be able to turn to it at this point for evidence which will at least point towards the truth. And when we do this, what do we find? We find that, according to traditional Israelite chronology, the date of Joshua's invasion fell *certainly* in the Bronze Age, and *probably* at some time in the 15th century B.C. The estimate of 480 years which is given in 1 Kings vi. 1 as the interval between the Exodus and the building of the Temple would make the date of this invasion *c.* 1406 B.C., but as this figure is equivalent to 12 generations of 40 years each, it may be taken as representing the period in round numbers only. On the other hand, the figures obtainable for the period from other Biblical sources are very much higher than this (534 years, not including three periods of unknown length). The difference between the two estimates is, however, more apparent than real, for we are told by Eusebius that the Jewish chroniclers excluded years of foreign domination from their reckonings, and on this principle the larger figure can be roughly approximated to the smaller. (*See* Moore, *Judges*, 1908, p. xli.) For our present purpose a greater precision is not required. Allowing for a natural uncertainty of chronology on both sides, we find that the traditional date of Joshua and the apparent date of the destruction of the "Red" Jericho are *not at variance*. If to this purely negative fact we add the apparent coincidence of the direction from which the invaders came, and give its full weight to the extraordinarily deep impression which this first victory of the Israelites west of Jordan has left upon their records, we may surely urge that there is a very strong presumption that Legend has yet once more been corroborated by Archaeology.

If there were no more to be said than this, we should have at least made a notable advance; but there is more. The impression of which we have just spoken does not merely include the very remarkable legend of the way in which the city collapsed before the hosts of Israel, though it may be pointed out in passing that the story of the walls of Jericho, whether truly "miraculous" or merely imaginative, is a national "memory" which might well be called indelible. There is another and perhaps even more striking proof of the same phenomenon, the force of which seems to be insufficiently appreciated: there is the Curse.

"And Joshua charged them with an oath at that time, saying, Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this

city Jericho: with the loss of his firstborn shall he lay the foundation thereof, and with the loss of his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it." (Joshua vi, 26.) It is strange that the full weight of this has escaped notice. There can scarcely be imagined a more potent preserver of tradition than a religious "tabu" imposed upon a god-fearing or even a superstitious people. It rivets upon the memory the particular sequence of events which led up to its imposition and must rivet it all the firmer, when, as in this case, a most favourable site for human habitation is thus dogmatically "put out of bounds." How deep this curse of Joshua bit into the minds of his countrymen may be seen in the fact that it was not until the middle of the 9th century that an unbeliever dared to flout it, and is still more apparent from the comments of the Israelite chronicler, when he records how literally the terms of this curse were fulfilled. "In his [Ahab's] days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof with the loss of Abiram, his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof with the loss of his youngest son Segub; according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by the hand of Joshua the son of Nun." (1 Kings xvi, 34.)

The sceptic who doubts the whole story of Joshua and Jericho must explain to us how it comes about that the chronicles of Israel record the fulfilment in the 9th century of a curse pronounced by the one upon the other. How came that curse into being, if the tradition about it is wholly false? Why should a site which in the time of Joshua was desolate, "a heap of ruins, on which stood perhaps a few isolated huts"—why should this have attached to it a "tabu" so powerful that its effects were regarded as still operative in the reign of Ahab? And why should this "tabu" be connected with the venerated name of Joshua? Until some satisfactory explanation of these facts is forthcoming we may prefer to trust the legend rather than its critic.

It is here that we can turn back to the archaeological "history" of the site, for we have seen that there is already a strong presumption that the tradition is substantially correct. If this is so, if we are right in identifying the "Red" city with the Jericho destroyed and cursed by Joshua in the Bronze Age, then we shall expect to find that its destruction was followed by a long period of desolation, lasting well into the Iron Age, and ended by a period of reconstruction, the culture of which should belong to the 9th and following centuries.

But this is exactly what we do find! The site remained desolate, as Prof. Watzinger tells us (and in *this* sense it is quite true to say that in the time of Joshua it was in ruins, for it was Joshua who made the ruins!), nor was it reoccupied until the last, or "green," epoch, the remains of which belonged for the most part to the 10th and 9th centuries. Prof. Watzinger himself has no hesitation in ascribing this last "city" to the work of Hiel, though he adds, somewhat curiously, that the building was on a very much less important scale than tradition seems to indicate. As a matter of fact, Biblical tradition is quite silent on this point beyond relating that the new town had "foundations" and "gates"; and if we are left to conjecture, all the probabilities are against a very extensive reconstruction. The natural effect of the curse's fulfilment would be to discourage its victim from carrying out his profane intentions to the end; and even if this were not the case, it could hardly fail to make the project unpopular. But these are minor details which must not be allowed to obscure the outstanding and essential facts. Here is a city of Palestine, famous in tradition for its fall, its long desolation, and the woes which attended its subsequent rebuilding—three epochs, which of their very nature must be readily distinguishable when the site itself is explored. Is it any longer merely a strong presumption; is it not evidence on the very verge of certainty that we should find in its strata—date answering to date, and culture to culture—the same threefold story of ruin and decay and partial return of life?

A word in conclusion may be added as to the main purpose of this paper. That purpose is less concerned with the immediate question of the ruins of Jericho than with the much larger problem of the rehabilitation of the legends of Israel. If the conclusions reached above are (even provisionally) accepted, they must have effects far beyond the narrow limits of their subject. They will have established the leading contention of this thesis, that a great wrong has been practised upon the traditions of a great people, and they will have pointed the way to its redress. No one will deny that, if such action is to be taken, it must be taken now, before it is too late. More and more the soil of Palestine is being called upon to reveal its secrets, and the moment is really critical for the success of scientific exploration. With the immense increase of evidence external to tradition, which will very soon be in our hands, everything will depend upon the

mental attitude which we bring to its interpretation. Are we to continue under the spell of speculations which defy the most reasonable tests of science, or are we to carry the whole problem into a larger air and measure it with the same breadth of judgment that we have found indispensable in other fields ?[1]

*October*, 1926.

[1] [Whatever attitude readers may take to the very difficult and delicate questions with which Mr. Phythian-Adams here deals, all will agree that it is to archaeology and the monuments and to the interpretation of the evidence they supply that we must look for clearer light upon many of the Biblical problems. The Biblical scholars against whose methods Mr. Phythian-Adams protests are quite able—*crede experto!*—to defend themselves, but the *Q.S.* is not the place for controversy of that sort; he has raised a very important archaeological point, and it is the archaeological and external side of the question which alone is suitable for discussion in this journal.—*Ed.*]

## ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF MACCABAEAN COINS.

By A. Reifenberg, Jerusalem.

It is still an open question whether the Hebrew silver coins, which bear the inscriptions "Yerushalayim haq-qedoshah" and "Sheqel Yisrael," are to be attributed to the time of the Maccabaeans or to the First Revolt.

This article endeavours to show that they really belong to the Maccabaean period. First it is necessary to examine the reasons given by authors in favour of the First Revolt.

1. Schürer (*Geschichte d. jüdischen Volks*, Vol. I, p. 764) says that the era of Simon lasted seven years, but that shekels of years 1 to 5 only are known. This is no proof that they were not issued by Simon Maccabaeus, for it is possible that coins were not struck during the earlier years of his reign. It is even unlikely, considering the fact that he obtained from Antiochus VII (1 Macc. xv, 5, 6) the privilege of striking money only in 139 B.C., and as Simon died in 135 B.C. his last five years correspond very well with the various dates on the shekels. (*Cf.* Grätz, to whom the shekel of the fifth year was unknown.)

2. G. F. Hill (*Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, p. xciii) finds the most striking piece of evidence against an attribution to the Maccabaean period in the epigraphy. He shows (but only with regard to the letters "Aleph," "Beth," "He" and "Waw") that when arranging Jewish coins in the probable sequence of epigraphic development, the shekels could best be placed in the period of the First Revolt. This is surely not correct as far as the letter "He" is concerned, and the present writer has in his possession several coins of John Hyrcanus with the same form of "He" which we find on the shekels.

At all times when Jewish coins were struck, the so-called square script was in common use, the ancient script only being used on coins and perhaps for similar purposes. One cannot therefore speak of an epigraphic development but only of an imitation of earlier forms. There is, in fact, a close epigraphic resemblance between the shekels and the Siloah inscription (8th cent.).

The following are the reasons given in favour of an attribution to the Maccabaean period.

### I. *On Historical Grounds.*

1. In the Mishna (Sheqalim IIa) R. Jehuda points out, in opposition to R. Simon, that "even Shekalim have no fixed value. For when Israel returned from captivity, darkons were paid, later selas were paid, again tabas were current, and finally people would pay only with denarii." Hence it follows that at the later period, *i.e.* shortly before the destruction of the Temple, the Temple Tax was paid in denarii; the Mishna would probably have mentioned any coinage specially struck.

2. The Talmud orders especially that the five shekels which had to be paid as redemption of the first-born should be of Tyrian weight (Bechoroth VIII, 7). In the Tosephta (Ketuboth XII fin.) we find that all the money of which the law speaks is Tyrian money. Now the shekel discussed in this paper was really struck according to the Phoenician standard. The Pre-Alexandrine weight standards of Phoenicia did in fact continue to be represented in currency down to the 2nd century, as illustrated by the Phoenician staters and tetradrachms of Tyre and Sidon. (Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 797 and 800.)

It is obvious that at a time of national freedom (*i.e.* in the time of the Maccabaeans) the Jews would not strike their coins on a foreign standard (*cf.* the letter of Antiochus), but when Hellenistic influences grew stronger the Attic standard prevailed again.

3. The following fact confirms the existence of a coin of Phoenician standard fixed upon as the Temple Tax, prior to the Roman period. In Hellenistic times the Attic didrachm was current, and it was feared that the half shekel appointed as the Temple Tax had not its full value; this is seen to be the case if we compare it with the didrachm; an Attic tetradrachm of Marathus (Head, *op. cit.*, p. 792), *e.g.* weighs 258 grains, whereas the Phoenician shekel weighs 220 grains approximately; therefore, according to Shekalim I f., a supplement of one collobus had to be paid with every shekel of that period (equal to half a shekel of the Bible). From this difference in weight may be concluded the various subdivisions of collobi according to ancient authors.

Sometimes they divide the shekel into 24 collobi, sometimes into 20 (Josephus, Hieronymus, Rashi).

The collobus served to make the half shekel up to full value (*i.e.* to the standard of the didrachm.)

The following figures illustrate this:

Didrachm, 129 grs. approximately.
Half shekel, 110 grs. approximately.
Half shekel + $\frac{1}{20}$ shekel (collobus): 121 grs.

In this way the value of the half shekel was brought nearer to that of the didrachm.

## II. *On Archaeological Grounds.*

1. The views of most authors differ with regard to the style of the shekel, but A. v. Sallet had good reason to state "dass der altertümliche Charakter der Münzen ein so ausgeprägter ist, die Dicke des Metallstückes den lange vor Christus geprägten so konform, das Gepräge und die Schrift haben einem durchaus so alten Charakter, dass die Münzen in die Zeit der Makkabäer fallen müssen." The bronze coins of the First Revolt as well as the tetradrachms of Bar Cochba give quite another impression.

2. It is certainly admissible to assume that the Jews took advantage of the permission granted to them by Antiochus VII to

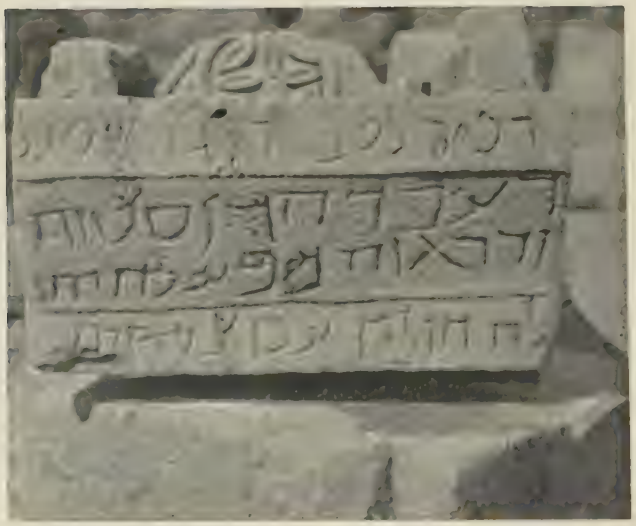
strike coins. Hill (*op. cit.*, p. 184–187) ascribes only the copper coins to the era of Simon. Now the copper coins bearing the inscription "Shanat arba'" and "Li-Geulath Zion" show a type of chalice very similar to that on the silver shekels. It is hardly to be doubted that the chalice was used for libation purposes. (It is the intention of the present writer to go into the development of the pottery libation chalice on another occasion.) As to style, the identical shape of the chalice on both coins indicates that they belong to the same period. One has only to compare these rather simple vessels with the ornate amphora on the coins of the First Revolt.

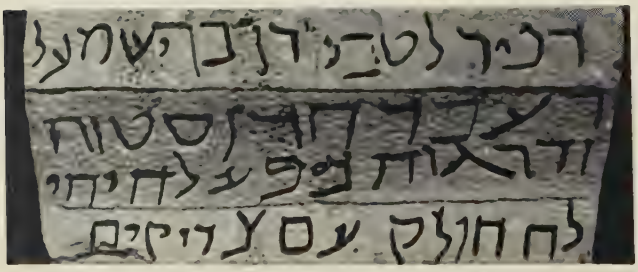
3. Silver coins belonging to the Second Revolt have been found in considerable number (several hundreds) at two places. First in Bittir and then (1921) near Hebron. No shekels of the series here discussed have been found in either of these localities. As only 65 years intervened between the First and the Second Revolts, we should expect that shekels would still be current. (Compare with this the fact that the Temple Tax was finally paid in denarii—and many denarii have actually been found bearing an overstruck design of Bar Cochba.)

It is therefore concluded that arguments hitherto raised against attributing the shekels to the Maccabaean period are slight when compared with those in favour of such an attribution, both on historical and on archaeological grounds.

[Dr. G. F. Hill, F.B.A., of the British Museum, has, at our request, been kind enough to send us the following note:—

"Mr. Reifenberg may be referred to the account of the find of a shekel and a half shekel of the kind which he would attribute to the Maccabaean period given by R. P. Germer-Durand in the *Revue Biblique* for April, 1914, and to the further discussion of the same matter in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1922, pp. 133–4. They were associated with Herodian and Procuratorial coins. So far as it goes, this evidence (the only concrete evidence so far available in the matter) is in favour of the attribution to the First Revolt. The fact that none have been found associated with coins of the Second Revolt is easily explained; coins issued during the First Revolt would not have been allowed to continue in circulation, and any made of silver would tend to be melted down."—*Ed.*]





JEWISH INSCRIPTION FROM SYNAGOGUE OF KERAZEH.

[*To face p.* 51.

# AN INSCRIPTION NEWLY FOUND IN THE SYNAGOGUE OF KERAZEH.

By J. Ory.

Asst. Inspector of Antiquities in the Government of Palestine.

The Aramaic inscription reproduced in the attached photo was brought to light this year in the course of Conservation work carried out by the Department of Antiquities in the Synagogue of Kerazeh. The inscription is engraved on the front of an arm-chair in basalt, a unique object of its kind, furnishing a fair illustration of the synagogal cathedra. It reads as follows

1. דכיר לטב יודן בר ישמעא[ל]
2. דעבד הדן סטוה
3. ודרג ותכמ[ב] ביעלה. יהי
4. לה חולק עם צדיקים

*Translation.*

1. Blessed be the memory of Judan son of Ishmael
2. who made this stoa
3. and staircase and completed the work. May there come
4. to him a share with the righteous.

Line 1. The foremost two letters of the word יודן are practically obliterated. The comparatively short interval, however, between them and the preceding word, as well as the fact that the lower parts of the letters are still traceable on the stone, suggest that they can hardly represent other than the י and ו, the smallest signs of the Hebrew Alphabet. The word next this reads בן or ברּ, probably the latter. The horizontal stroke of the ר is not clear. The vertical stroke, which is distinctly prolonged, may indicate the word to stand for an abbreviation of בירבי, *i.e.* "the son of

Rabbi," etc. In the name of Judan's father, Ishma(e)l, the א at the end has obviously been omitted from lack of space. The omission or interchange of letters in synagogal inscriptions frequently occurs.

Line 2. כטוה. This seems to be the first time the word occurs on inscriptions. The word is met with in the Jewish literature of the Mishnah and Talmud, but the spelling given there is סטיו or מסטיו.

Line 3. A difficulty in the reading of this line arises from the fact that the 7th letter (counting from the right) is of unidentified form. It is, however, nearest akin to the letter מ, and on close observation is seen to combine the outlines of both the medial מ, characterised by the vertical stroke or ear on the top, and the rectangular part on the base of the final ם. (Compare the letter י in the first line.) The letter preceding it, *i.e.* the 6th letter from the right, reads ת, the horizontal stroke at the base having been dispensed with by the engraver, possibly on account of lack of space, or more probably, on the same grounds that all distinction between the letters ה and ח is neglected on this inscription. I propose, therefore, to read this word ותם or [ותמ]ם, the latter being an active perfect by supplying the final ם as is grammatically preferable. The incoherence in style of a reading ודרגוה מפעלה (and its stairs are his achievement) may further the plausibility of our proposed version.

Line 4. חולק is an abbreviation of the proper Aramaic form חולקא. The last word reads either צדיקים or צדיקיה.[1]

Jerusalem,

*7th November*, 1926.

[1] [Mr. Ory's inscription found on a rabbinical seat is of no little interest; and the photographs, one of which has been marked in, provide all the necessary material for its elucidation. The third line, it has been pointed out, could otherwise be read, as Mr. Ory notes, "and its steps (*or* the steps of which) are his work," or "whose work are its steps," reading ודרגוה מפעלה—*Ed.*]

THE

# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

**DIED**

**On the 21st January, 1927**

**GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN**

**G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E.**

**OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

It is with very deep regret that we have to announce the death of General Sir Charles Warren, for many years a valued member of the Fund and one of the Executive Committee. We give on another page some account of his many services on behalf of Palestinian exploration and the P.E.F.

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At a very largely attended meeting of the Executive Committee, held March 15, a very important decision was come to regarding future work. It was decided as soon as possible to commence another season of excavation at Jerusalem on the "Ophel" hill. The results of the previous excavation, now fully reported in the new *Annual*, though undoubtedly important, were not conclusive as regards the extent of the Davidic and pre-Davidic Jerusalem. It

is felt too that a site of so extraordinarily interesting a character merits further investigation with the good hope of discoveries of first-class importance. To abandon this site now might well mean to do so for ever. Sir Charles Marston, who did so much financially to assist the previous expedition, has generously offered £1,000 if the P.E.F. will undertake to provide an equal sum and to begin work at once. It is hoped therefore that all those interested in the History of Jerusalem and in Biblical archaeology will do their utmost to rally to the help of the Committee in this undertaking. It is not anticipated that there will be any difficulty with the Department of Antiquities of the Palestine Government, as the previous excavations were only suspended—on account of exhausted funds—and never really abandoned.

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The prospect of immediate excavation with the Spring is made possible on account of an arrangement which has been come to with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, whereby their new Director, Mr. Crowfoot, and his Assistant, Mr. FitzGerald, will—under certain conditions -undertake the management and direction of our excavations. The P.E.F. undertakes the whole cost of the actual "diggings," and will be responsible for the cost of publication of the results, and in addition they will make a financial grant to the funds of the British School in recognition of the services of their staff. It is to be hoped that such an arrangement will prove of advantage to both societies.

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A proposal is now being considered by the Executive Committee to alter the size and general appearance of the *Quarterly Statement*. It is suggested that a quarto form, like the British School at Athens, would be a great improvement. This would bring our Journal more into line with modern ideas of what an archaeological publication should look like, and especially would provide better space for illustrations, plans and maps. The Committee invite the opinion of subscribers on this question.

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Through the courtesy of the Director of the excavations at Beisān, Mr. Alan Rowe, we are able to print a full account of the main results of his work. The excavations at Beisān have been singularly interesting and rich, many facts novel and important have

come to light, and we have gained a much fuller conception of Palestine—or, rather, of that part of Palestine—in what we may call the age of the Judges. Eight city levels have been found and approximately dated: and at the age in question strong influences, on the one side from the Levant, and on the other from North Syria and the Hittite area, are especially marked. But all ages down to the Byzantine are well represented, and there is no reason to doubt that the mound will continue to yield a rich store of archaeological treasures. Of more than ordinary interest are the pottery anthropoid burials, an account of which, it is understood, will shortly appear in the Philadelphian *Museum Journal*.

Good progress is being made with the excavations at Shechem; the city gates are the largest as yet found, remains of a fine palace of about the 18th century were discovered, and the excavations reached the foundations of the temple of Baal Berith. In the lower city were two cuneiform tablets containing, in one case, a list of witnesses, in the other a letter to one Birashshena, perhaps a Hittite official.

A report in *The Times* of February 2 (Jerusalem, February 1) states that excavation in Jerusalem "is now proceeding inside the Walled City near Herod's Gate, though the southern continuation of the Third Wall has not yet been discovered. Near the American School of Archaeology . . . a large rock scarp, 22 feet deep, and facing west, has been laid bare on the side of the flanking gateway near the tower, which has been identified with the Tower of the Women mentioned by Josephus. This part of the wall conforms with the description in Josephus that this corner was so strongly fortified that Titus refrained from making a direct attack there during his siege of Jerusalem. As the result of soundings along the northern line of the wall, further excavations have uncovered two courses of masonry, the lower course being of finely dressed characteristic Herodian masonry, and the upper consisting of huge blocks roughly finished. This conforms exactly with Josephus's description that the wall was begun by King Agrippa in elaborate style, but was stopped by the foresight of the Emperor Claudius, and the wall was hurriedly finished immediately after the outbreak of the Jewish revolt in A.D. 66."

Professor Sir W. Flinders Petrie, in *The Times* of March 11, in making an appeal for financial assistance for the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, which is now working in "Egypt over the border," makes the following interesting statements:—"Gaza was more than half destroyed by the war, and now the population, which had been somewhat replanted since, is dwindling away northward in search of sustenance. On the southern plain, sheep and cattle are wandering about, nosing the dusty ground in vain; pitiable little lambs totter along, and dead cattle strew the track . . . In this crisis there has fortunately come in, this year, the archaeological work of the excavator, to provide wages which will keep a few hundreds of the scanty population fed, and will be a substantial help to them.

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"In the researches of the present season, the surroundings of Gaza were first examined, and a massive wall 27 feet high was found on the north side of the city mound. The upper courses of this wall may probably be about 1400 B.C. and the lower construction of early Canaanite age. This defines one side of the old city. On the west is a large modern cemetery, which proved to be on made ground, not before Roman times, a small torso of good work being found at the lowest level. The great siege-mound of Alexander must have left a considerable mass; it was on the south side, and there the present city is at a high level, but without any trace of walling. If any excavation is to be done at Gaza, the present state of desolation of much of the former building should give opportunity. A great deal of Roman age, however, would need to be shifted before the important early strata could be reached.

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"For historical results, the most likely site seemed to be at nine miles south of Gaza, where a high mound known as Tell Jemmeh rises above the Wady Gaza. In the neighbourhood is a ruin named Umm Jerrar, which was supposed to be the ancient Gerar of Abraham and Isaac. The site, however, is only Roman, and the great Tell was the ancient site,[1] and claims the name 'Gerar'; the latter village was named from it, 'its mother was Gerar.' Exactly the same

[1] Some description of Tell Jemmeh, and an account of soundings made there for the P.E.F. by W. J. Phythian-Adams, appears in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1923, pp. 140–146.

transference is known at Lachish (Tell Hesy), where a Roman village is known as Umm Lakis, while the mother city near it has been renamed.

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" The city of Tell Jemmeh was important in Hyksos times, before Abraham, as proved by the scarabs found here, and flourished till about 1000 B.C., accumulating 50 feet depth of buildings ; afterwards it was burnt and was refortified, but its life ended about 500 B.C. This agrees with the recorded history of Gerar ; it was of importance under the Philistine King Abimelech and his general Phichol (Pa-Khalu 'the Syrian'), but it only appears once later, briefly mentioned under Asa in 940 B.C. On the more prominent end of the Tell there is a fort with walls 7 feet thick ; this and the surrounding buildings we hope to search thoroughly, down to the earliest period, during the present season's digging."

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We learn that Dr. Clarence Fisher has entered upon a new season's work at Tell Mutesellim (Megiddo). Prof. Badé, too, has returned to Tell en-Nasbeh, which he is excavating on behalf of the Pacific School of Religion.

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The Schweich Lectures last December, the twentieth in the series, were on the subject of " Palestine in General History." In the first lecture, dealing with the period from early days to the fall of Nineveh, Professor Theodore Robinson (University College of South Wales) pointed out that Palestine was, from the earliest times, a bridge between the great civilizations of the ancient world . . . and was thus dominated in turn by the Egyptians, the Hittites and the Assyrians, and might have been the seat of a Philistine empire but for the rise of Israel. Yet even that people failed to secure independence, except for short intervals during which both the great powers were distracted by internal troubles. In the second, the Rev. J. W. Hunkin (Cambridge) surveyed the history of Palestine from 612 B.C. to A.D. 70, with a number of interesting illustrations from monuments and coins. In the final lecture, dealing with Petra and Palmyra, Professor Burkitt pointed out that in times of war the main routes between the belligerents are unsafe ; byways are safer, even if rough or desert. After Alexander the Great, Egypt fell to Ptolemy, Mesopotamia to Seleucus. The desert route became safer than the highroad, and the tribe which commanded Maan, the junction of roads to Egypt and the East, achieved prosperity and power. These were Arabs, called by the Greeks Nabataeans. About 12 miles

from Maan they built the stronghold known by the Greeks as Petra. When the Romans occupied both Palestine and Egypt the desert route was not so much needed, and in A.D. 107 Trajan suppressed the Nabataean state, and Petra lost its importance. Similar causes led in the following centuries to the rise of Palmyra, as an oasis on a desert route between the Romans in Syria and the Parthians and the Sasanians in Mesopotamia.

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We are asked to state that Prof. Peter Thomsen, the editor-in-chief of the international bibliography on Palestinian Literature, now lives at Dresden, at 19 Laubestrasse II, II, where may be sent articles, etc., for inclusion.

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The Committee are glad to report that the *Annual*, 1923–5, on the Ophel Excavations has been published and is now on sale. The price is £2 2*s*. to non-subscribers.

The account is by the excavators, Prof. Macalister, Litt.D., and the Rev. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., and consists of four chapters on the Narrative, the Rock Surface, Rock-cuttings and Constructions and Miscellaneous Finds, with an Appendix on Greek Inscriptions stamped upon Jar-handles (pp. 1–212). There are two important maps, an air-photograph of Mount Ophel, 26 plates and 217 illustrations. The maps, which were prepared under the supervision of Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.S., the Fund's Honorary Treasurer, show the results of all the excavations made upon the Ophel ridge during the last sixty years.

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An announcement of the reprint of Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, was made in the January *Quarterly Statement*. It has now gone to press and will be on sale in a few days. The price is 4*s*. bound in cloth, and 2*s*. 6*d*. in paper covers.

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The new plan of Jerusalem, on a scale of approximately 1 : 5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5*s*. Mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9*s*. The latter form is the more convenient, as, owing to its size, the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 60 *sq.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions:—

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| James Melrose, Esq. ... ... ... | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Capel Morris, Esq. ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss E. M. Courthorpe ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |

The Annual Report and Accounts, with list of subscriptions received during the year 1926, is published with this number.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Hartford College, Conn., U.S.A.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

*The Near East and India*, January 20 : Special Palestine supplement.

*The Expository Times*, March : Samaria in Ahab's Time : Harvard excavations and their results, by Rev. J. W. Jack.

*The Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. xxvi : Excavations at Sparta, 1924–5, by A. M. Woodward ; Eros and the cock in early Attic legend and art, by C. T. Seltman.

*Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great* (the Schweich Lectures for 1922), by the late Dr. Israel Abrahams. The British Academy, Oxford Press, 1926.

*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, October, 1926 : What happened after the death of Tut'ankhamūn, by A. H. Sayce ; the Hebrew book of Proverbs and the teaching of Amenophis, by F. Ll. Griffith and D. C. Simpson.

*The New Judaea*, December 24 : Research and discovery in Palestine, by E. Epstein.

*The Zionist Review.*

*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vi (1925–6) : The story of the school in Jerusalem, by J. A. Montgomery ; the Baghdad school, by G. A. Barton ; the Jordan valley in the Bronze Age, by W. F. Albright ; a new factor in the history of the Ancient East, by E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser ; Coptic convents in Nitria, by W. A. P. Hatch.

*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, October and December, 1926 : The excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim, by Director Albright ; archaeological survey in southern Babylonia, by Prof. Raymond Dougherty.

*Geographical Review*, January : The New Palestine, by Andrée Choveaux (on the Jewish colonies, etc.).

*Homiletic Review.*

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, December, 1926 : On binding-reeds, bitumen and other commodities in ancient Babylonia, by G. A. Barton.

*Jewish Quarterly Review.*

*Taboo among the Ancient Hebrews.* By Arthur Charles James, University of Pennsylvania ; Philadelphia, 1925.

*Bulletins of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* New York. (With a report of the Egyptian expedition, 1925–6.)

*Jérusalem : Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire.* Par les PP. Hugues Vincent et F.-M. Abel. Préface par M. le Marquis de Vogüé. Paris, 1926. Tome ii, Fasc. iv. Jérusalem Nouvelle : Sainte-Anne et les Sanctuaires hors de la ville. Histoire monumentale de Jérusalem nouvelle. Planches lxvii–xc.

*Revue Biblique*, January, 1927 : Melchisedek in patristic tradition, by C. Bardy : Greek inscriptions from the Negeb, by R. P. R. Tonneau ; the excavations of Beisān, by R. P. H. Dhorme ; Yazur and Beit Dejan, by R. P. F.-M. Abel ; les stations lithiques d'el Qesemiet, by R. P. D. Buzy, etc.

*Journal Asiatique.*

*Die Palästina-literatur*, iv, part 1, containing the literature for 1915–24, by Peter Thomsen. (Leipzig, 1927.)

*Die geographischen verhältnisse Syriens u. Palästinas nach Wilhelm von Tyrus, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, I, by Dr. Hermann Propst. (Leipzig, 1927.)

*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xlix, 4 : Index to the chapters on 'Ajlun, by D. C. Steuernagel ; the political and economic development of Palestine, by the same ; excavation of Shechem, by E. Sellin, with an appendix on the cuneiform tablets found there, by F. M. Böhl ; words for the locust in the Old Testament, by Ludwig Köhler.

*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte.* Reprints of articles Lachisch, Megaliths, Megiddo, Menhir, etc., by Peter Thomsen.

*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, November–December, 1926 : Vases with representations of a Syrian *migdōl*, by Wreszinski ; February, 1927 : Frazer's *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (one vol. edition), reviewed by Kuhl ; Baumgärtel's *Dolmen und Mastaba*, reviewed by Th. Dombart, etc.

*Archiv fur Keilschriftforschung*, iii, 2–3 : An Aramaic inscription cuneiform script, by G. R. Driver, etc., iii, 4 ; the land of Arzaph (2 Esd. xiii, 45), by Felix Perles, etc. (Reviews, Surveys of Excavations, etc.)

*Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1926, 3–4 : The topography of the tribe of Issachar, by W. F. Albright ; the gods of the Habiru, by Anton Jirku ; Nebuchadrezzar II and his commissioner in Tyre, by E. Unger, etc. (Surveys of new books and periodicals, etc.)

*Communications of the Russian Palestinian Society*, xxix. Leningrad, 1926: The competition between nations in the Near East, by F. Uspenski; two Arabic stories from Nazareth, by Krachkovsky; the Philistines, by Zakhárov; a model of the church at Jerusalem brought to Russia in the 17th century, by Brunov; the bibliography of Palestine and the adjacent provinces by Lebedev; etc. The publication of the title of the Russian journal and chief contents is due to Dr. E. H. Minns.]

*Bulletin de l'Academie des Sciences, Leningrad*, 1916, No. 12.

*Eine Byzantinische Inschrift aus Hebron die Wasserleitung betreffend*, by Natan Svensson. (Extract du Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund, 1925–6.)

*Biblica*, January–March: Landwirtschaftliches vom See Genezareth, by J. Sonnen; le mur d'Agrippa, by A. Mallon.

*Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, t. x, fasc. 6: Quelques stations préhistoriques de Palestine. Beyrouth, 1925.

*Palestine Museum, Jerusalem, Bulletin* No. 3. Selected Types of Bronze Age Pottery. Drawings and notes by Miss G. R. Lowy.

*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vi. 4: Adonibezeq, by H. W. Hertzberg.

*Bible Lands*, January.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

*Al-Mashrik*: *Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle*, 1927: The "Silver Wedding" number, 1898–1927. February: Les irrigations dans le Proche-Orient, leur restauration en Syrie et au Liban, by M. Edmond Bèshara; le convent de N.-D., Auxiliatrice, by P. Pierre Sarah, O.S.A. March: a history of the Omayyads in Syria, by P. H. Lammens.

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The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

*The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.*

*The Quarterly Statement*, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten*. (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i. *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener*.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

## Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of_____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

## SIR CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E.

By the death, on January 21 of this year, of Sir Charles Warren the Palestine Exploration Fund loses one of its oldest and most honoured members; one whose work did more than that of anyone to make known widely the objects of the Society and one who in many ways served the Society from its very beginning, and was actually a member of the Executive Committee, to which he was elected in 1871, at the time of his death. He presided at the Annual Meeting in 1906. The first numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* and the other early publications of the Fund are almost entirely occupied with reports of his work, and yet he lived to contribute an important letter in 1925 on "The Diamond Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund."

Born in 1840 at Bangor, the son of Major-General Sir Charles Warren—one of the heroes of Inkerman—Charles Warren was educated at Cheltenham College, from which he proceeded to Sandhurst and Woolwich. He was gazetted in 1857 in the Royal Engineers, got his company in 1869, and six years later became Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. He did his memorable work in Palestine between 1867–70. After this he was sent to South Africa (where all his active military service was done) and during the next years it fell to him to settle many difficult questions in connection with the boundary of the British possessions. Returning to England in 1880, he was appointed Instructor of Surveying at Chatham, but in 1882 he again returned to Africa, first to Egypt and then to South Africa, where he established the claims of Great Britain over the disputed territory known as British Bechuanaland. After holding command of the garrison in Suakim (1886) he was recalled to England the same year to be Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police at a time of considerable difficulty—a position which he resigned in 1888 through disagreements with the Home Office. In the following year he went to Singapore, where he remained five years in command of the troops in the Straits Settlements. During the Boer War he—now Lieutenant-General—commanded the 5th Division of the South African Field Force and took part in the relief of Ladysmith. His first failure at Spion Kop was the subject of much controversy, but

GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E.

*To face p.* 64.]

on the resumption of the offensive in Natal he succeeded in forcing the Tugela River and in winning an action at Pieters Hill which paved the way for the triumphant relief of Ladysmith. He later held an important administrative post in Cape Colony. He was promoted General in 1904, and the next year was placed on the retired list. Sir Charles Warren was a keen Mason and first Master of the first lodge founded with the aim of conducting Masonic research.

During his years of retirement he took a keen interest in the Church Lads' Brigade and in the Scout movement.

In his latter years he settled first at Ramsgate and later at Westbere, near Canterbury: he died at the house of his son, Dr. Richard Warren, at Weston-super-Mare. The funeral service was conducted with full military honours at Canterbury Cathedral, after which his body was interred at Westbere.

It will be seen how wide and varied were the occupations and responsibilities of Sir Charles Warren's life, and yet we have ample evidence that the interest which he acquired in Palestine and its Biblical and archaeological problems during the early days when he worked there, remained with him throughout his life.

In 1867, when but a Lieutenant, R.E., Warren, with a small party of N.C.Os., commenced those brilliant excavations to the south and south-east of the Temple area which have been for so many years familiarly pictured upon the cover of the *Quarterly Statement*. Then he found those strange "Phoenician" marks upon the stones of the lowest course which were supposed at the time to prove that the masonry was the work of Solomon. Hampered in those days—as ever since—by lack of funds, the excavations continued under the greatest difficulties. Not even the supreme importance to historical and Biblical students was enough to arouse the public sufficiently. After the gap of half a century the interest, both of the members of the Fund and of others who had an eye upon the site of the earliest Jerusalem, was again brought back to Warren's earliest labours and "Warren's Shaft" on Ophel and his 700 feet of wall foundations running south-east of the south-eastern corner of the Hauran—together with his "tower that standeth out"—became the subject of a renewed interest and enquiry. His books *Recovery of Jerusalem* and *Underground Jerusalem* have been the indispensable companions of all those who have recently worked on the "Ophel" site. His many plans, which fill a portfolio attached to the Jerusalem Volume

of the Memoirs of the P.E.F. Survey (a volume edited jointly by him and Colonel Conder), remain a monument of careful and scientific pioneer work essential to all that come after.

Before he left Palestine, Captain Warren made extensive surveys —over 800 square miles—of Southern Palestine and also toured in the then little-known east of the Jordan. He published also *The Temple and the Tomb*, against the theories of the late James Ferguson which, as he admits, he was inclined himself to hold before he examined things on the spot. In recent years most of Sir Charles Warren's contributions to the *Quarterly Statement* have been upon "Early Weights and Measures"; in 1917 he contributed a paper to the Victoria Institute upon "The Significance of the Geography of Palestine," and in 1925 he made a last contribution to the *Quarterly Statement* in an article on the Diamond Jubilee of the Fund. It is a contribution which should be read by all; it reveals an interest in the welfare of the Fund surviving undimmed after sixty years. In it Sir Charles Warren especially emphasises those points which he feels are essential to the interesting of new subscribers :—

(1) That all our Archaeological reports should be reported in a popular version for the ordinary reader as well as in technical terms for the specialist.

(2) That a uniform chronological table of antiquarian periods in Palestine should be adopted and followed. If it has to be modified notice should be given to the subscribers. (He refers to that given in the *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1923.)

(3) And this last he specially emphasizes : that the public should be encouraged to send in short papers, queries and speculations, for the *Quarterly Statement*, and that discussion, speculation and controversy upon topographical and other unsettled points should be encouraged, as they certainly were in the earlier days of the Fund.

There is no doubt that his last message to us is right : there is too little speculation and keen controversy to-day; subjects which once provoked eager discussion are now viewed with lukewarm indifference. It is always a point to be remembered that it is one of the first duties of the Fund to present new facts to the supporters of the Fund in a form that is intelligible to those who are not, like the explorers themselves, technically trained or educated.

# EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE.

## THE NEW DISCOVERIES AT BETH-SHAN.

By Alan Rowe,
Field Director, Palestine Expedition, University Museum, Philadelphia.

The ancient city of Beth-Shan, at present called Beisān, lies in North Palestine at the eastern end of the Valley of Jezreel, and has been since time immemorial the key to the Jordan end of the great highway extending along the valleys of Esdraelon and Jezreel, from the Mediterranean sea to the country now known as Transjordania. The city is to-day represented by a small town which lies on the southern side of the River Jalud, a swiftly flowing stream which runs eastward into the River Jordan. Between the town and the River Jalud is a mighty "tell" or artificial mound, which chiefly consists of the remains of superimposed citadels ranging in date from the earliest age to Arabic times. On the north side of the mound, which the Arabs call Tell Hosn or "Mound of the Fortress," and on the other side of the river, is an extensive cemetery —one of the largest in Palestine —which has been proved to contain burials of all periods.

Ever since the year 1921 the Palestine Expedition of the University Museum, Philadelphia, has been busily engaged in excavating the cemetery and the tell, and has been fortunate enough in adding many new chapters to the ancient history of the Holy Land. Much fresh light has been thrown upon the early religion of Palestine, and the recent unearthing of four brick temples on the tell, two of which are referred to in the Old Testament, is a discovery of the very highest biblical and archaeological importance.

[1] We are indebted to Mr. Alan Rowe for his great courtesy in putting at our disposal an excellent survey of his work at Beth-Shan, which, with some omissions and modifications, we are glad to be able to publish in the *Q.S.*

Until we have excavated the whole of the tell, the cemeteries and other remains at Beth-Shan, a fuller history of the site is impossible, and for the present we must content ourselves with drawing such information as we can from our excavation notes and from the works of various writers ranging from the old Egyptian scribes to comparatively modern visitors to Palestine. This information, which is now published for the first time in chronological form, gives many new details hitherto unknown to the members and the general public.

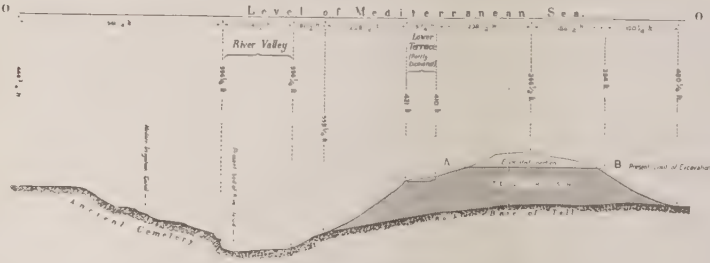
Of the period when stone was wholly used in the manufacture of implements for the chase, war, and so on, or of the early part of the succeeding age when bronze was used for such purposes in Beth-Shan, it is yet impossible to say anything, as it will be many years before our excavations will reach the lowest stratifications on the tell dating to those times. As the earliest really dateable objects found on the tell belong to the Hyksos Era,[1] it will be convenient if we commence our sketch of the history of the site with this period.

1. *Hyksos Period.*—About the year 1675 B.C. a confederation of tribes, probably Semites, called the Hyksos, invaded Egypt by way of Palestine and remained in the land of the Pharaohs until they were driven out by king Ahmose I (1580-1557 B.C.). The remnants of their power were finally destroyed by king Thothmes III (1501-1447 B.C.) when, about 1479 B.C., he crushed a confederacy of tribes at Megiddo, an important town not very far west of Beth-Shan. Nothing, however, is of course known of local conditions at this time, as we have not yet reached the Hyksos level. Incidentally it may be mentioned that some believe that the Hebrews themselves entered Egypt during the time of the Hyksos and left the country at the expulsion of their patrons or shortly afterwards. However this may be, the Old Testament states that they journeyed to Egypt in the days of Joseph the son of Jacob, who, according to an interesting story in the old Jewish *Book of Jubilees*, xxix, 14–16, written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the years 135–105 B.C., pastured his sheep near Beth-Shan.[2]

[1] The objects, by the way, were found not in their original level but in a later one.

[2] Here we read that Jacob "crossed the Jordan [from the east to the west] and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea of the heap (doubtless Galilee) unto Beth-Shan . . . And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and cheese, and some dates of the valley. And to his mother Rebecca also," etc.

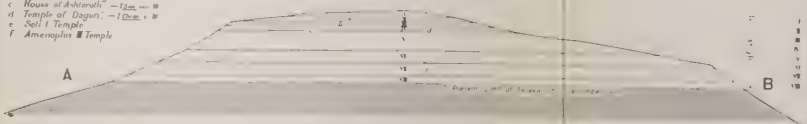
# EXCAVATIONS OF PHILADELPHIA UNIVERSITY MUSEUM AT BETH-SHAN, PALESTINE.




GENERAL SECTION through Ancient Cemetery, River Jalud, and Tell Hosn BETH-SHAN.
From north-east to south-west Looking south-east.

KEY to Positions of Sacred Buildings –

a Byzantine Churches (two)
b Hellenistic Temple
c "House of Ashtaroth" – 12m. NW
d Temple of Dagon? – 1 Chain NW
e Seti I Temple
f Amenophis III Temple




SPECIAL SECTION A–B (enlarged) through top of Tell HOSN showing in schematic form the Levels Excavated

DESCRIPTIONS of LEVELS –

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | ARABIC-CHRISTIAN | 638 A.D. – XIII th CENT | |
| II | BYZANTINE-CHRISTIAN | 330 A.D. – 638 A.D. | |
| III | HELLENISTIC-ROMAN | 305 B.C. – 330 A.D. | |
| IV | LATE RAMESSIDE | 1224 B.C. – 305 B.C. | |
| V | RAMESES II | 1292 – – 1225 – | |
| VI | SETI I | 1313 – – 1292 – – | |
| VII | AMENOPHIS III | 1411 – 1375 – – | |
| VIII | SILVER AMENOPHIS III | ? – 1413 – | |

NOTE From 1376 to 1314 B.C. the Temple of Amenophis III was still used. The Philistines and Israelites were in the IVth era. The two Temples in IVth era were in use until about Israelitish times.

J. Fink Surveyor
Chas. Ross Field Director.
January 1927

2. *Temple of Amenophis.*—The lowest level we have actually reached on the tell—as yet only partly cleared and not yet identified—belongs to just before the time of the famous kings Amenophis III (1411–1375 B.C.) and Amenophis IV (1375–1358 B.C.), the former of whom came to the throne of Egypt exactly thirty-six years after the decease of Thothmes III. Although, also, it is only a very small area of the Amenophis level that has been cleared, yet it was in this very area that we came across a magnificent temple dedicated to the great Palestinian goddess Ashtōreth or Astarte. It consists of a roughly rectangular building whose axis lies from north to south, the entrance being at the south. The building may well be divided into two main parts :—

(1) *Courtyard.*—This had an altar at its northern end, and a mastaba or low seat on the west and east sides. Two columns (for the roof) were in the centre of the courtyard and in front of the altar. Only the bases and capitals, the latter in the form of palm-tree tops, were found. It is quite possible that the worshippers in the temple regarded these two columns as sacred standing stones which, as we shall see presently, all Palestinians were accustomed to revere. Moreover, the palm-tree was itself a symbol of Ashtōreth, so the shape of the columns was a singularly appropriate one. It is probable that the whole of the courtyard and that part of the temple behind, or north of the columns, was roofed over, leaving the southern part of the courtyard open to the sky. In the western side of the courtyard were two manger-like receptacles in which may well have been placed food for animals, for, as we gather from Lucian (*Goddess of Syria*), sacred animals were kept in some of the old Syrian sanctuaries. Perhaps the animals in the Beth-Shan temple were gazelles, as several horns of the creature were found in it ; further, the gazelle was sacred to Ashtōreth. Behind the altar in the courtyard was a flight of steps leading up to

(2) *The Upper Altar Room,* which was on a much higher level than the courtyard. This room had an altar with a sloping top and also small receptacles near it, in which were kept the cult objects, and so on, associated with the ceremonies. It may be that the lower altar was used for holocausts and the upper one for shewbread or cakes and incense pots. Compare Jer. xliv, 19 (" And when we burned incense to the queen of heaven [*i.e.* Ashtōreth], and poured out drink offerings unto her, did we make her cakes to worship her,

and pour out drink offerings unto her, without our men ?") The brick altars in our temple, of course, formed a highly important part of the sacred equipment. In Isa. lxv, 3, we have a violent denunciation of the people "that sacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incense upon altars of brick." That the Hebrews once attributed their misfortunes to the iconoclasm of those reformers who had put down the cult of Ashtōreth the "queen of heaven," to whom they had made offerings on such altars is evident from Jer. xliv, 18, 19.

The plan of the Amenophis temple is very similar to that of certain of the tomb-chapels, a shrine in a river temple, and shrines in private houses, all dating to about the same period as our temple, found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. It seems quite possible, in view of our new discoveries, that the plan of these Amarna buildings was taken from that of certain buildings, like ours, in Syria and Palestine, for the close resemblance between them is too great to be accidental. Moreover, attention must be drawn to the very close relationship that existed between the royal houses of Egypt and Western Asia during the Amarna period, for the grandfather of Amenophis IV (*i.e.* Thothmes IV) married a princess from the land of Mitanni; his father (Amenophis III)—the outcome of that marriage—married one or two princesses from that country, which, incidentally, was situated to the north-west of Mesopotamia, while he, himself, was the son of Queen Tiy, who though perhaps not of Asiatic origin, at least was the daughter of a man who had been prince of Phoenicia. The queen of Amenophis IV was doubtless of Asiatic birth. These family connections must surely have ultimately influenced the style and characteristics of many of the buildings erected during the above-mentioned period both at Tell el-Amarna and in Palestine. It must also be stated that a quantity of Aegean pottery was found at el-Amarna.

The date of the Amenophis building at Beth-Shan has been fixed by the finding of various foundation deposits below the floors and walls of the buildings, consisting of amulets and rings, bearing the name of Amenophis III. On the floor of the temple was discovered a very interesting stone monument on which is figured the goddess "Ashtōreth of the Two Horns." She wears a plumed helmet mounted on a pair of horns. Before her stands a woman, perhaps a temple woman, who offers her a lotus. It may well be that it was this particular form of Ashtōreth that was worshipped in the

temple. From below the temple floor came nearly fifty Syro-Hittite cylinder seals, gold rosettes, variegated Egyptian glass vases, a lapis lazuli scarab mounted in gold, crescent-shaped gold pendants, beads, amulets, also a complete Syrian bronze dagger with inlaid-wood handle. Near all these objects was a magnificent Hittite battle-axe, which is the only antiquity of its kind ever found. It has a curved blade one end, and the back of it is in the form of a hand with outstretched fingers, the thumb being downwards. There is a peculiar crescent-shaped device on the blade. A very similar axe is figured on the royal gate of the Hittite capital in Asia Minor. At about the time the Beth-Shan temple was built the Hittites were advancing into North Syria. Hence it is not really surprising to find traces of their culture in Palestine.

Near the axe and the dagger were two most interesting and important objects—one a basalt model of a chair or throne of Cretan (Minoan) type, and the other a limestone model of a table or altar, also of Cretan type. The chair is absolutely identical in shape with certain old Cretan hieroglyphs representing a throne. But although its form is Cretan, the object bears Egyptian emblems. On either side of it is a winged Set-animal, while on its back are depicted a vulture with outstretched wings and the *ded*-pillar emblem of stability with arms and hands holding the sign of life. The small table has squares painted on its top and sacred trees represented on its base; its shape is identical with that of the table figured in Cretan sealings, where we find it associated with sacred trees.[1] Near the chair was also discovered a model of a sacred tree or perhaps a sacred standing stone. There is no doubt whatever that these models were associated together as a group of cult objects—probably the throne represented the seat of a god and the god himself, the decorated table the altar, surrounded by trees, on which the offerings were placed, and the tree or stone perhaps the female consort of the deity. It is interesting to record here that some of the altars in the tomb-chapels at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt are circular in shape.

With regard to the tree or stone, it must be remembered that in most old Palestinian sanctuaries there were two sacred emblems. These were the *mazzebahs* (stone columns) and *asherahs* (wooden poles representing trees), the latter word being translated in the

[1] Compare the "gardens" of Isa. lxv, 3.

A.V. as "groves." As already mentioned above, the two stone columns supporting the roof in the Amenophis temple were doubtless regarded by the local peoples as *mazzebahs*. No direct traces of any *asherahs* have been found, although they may well have been present. At times the Israelites departed from the worship of Yahweh (Jehovah) and set themselves up *asherahs* and *mazzebahs*, as we see from II Kings xvii, 9–11, 16, R.V.

The excavations of the temple have shown that at the time the building was erected there were two strong foreign influences present at Beth-Shan : (1) from Cyprus and the Aegean regions (of the early part of the Late Helladic [Mycenaean] III period, 1375–1200 B.C.) represented by certain peculiar cult objects, such as a cylindrical stand with the head of a pig, the models of the sacred Cretan throne and table, and (2) Syro-Hittite, represented by the cylinder seals and the Hittite axe head. The actual route followed by the introducers of the cult objects was doubtless by way of Cyprus from Crete or South Greece, for there was a Mycenaean kingdom founded in Cyprus about 1375 B.C. The Mediterranean influence which entered Beth-Shan at this time was therefore connected with this eastern movement of peoples from the Aegean and other regions. The final phase of the Mediterranean influence was represented by the domination of the iron-using Philistines, who were doubtless driven out from Beth-Shan by King David about 1000 B.C. With their advent the Bronze Age came to an end. That there was a strong Cypriote-Aegean influence in the old religion of Palestine was never fully recognized until our recent discoveries were made.

It will be remembered that during the reign of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV there was written the famous cuneiform correspondence between these Egyptian kings and their governors and other peoples in Western Asia. The tablets containing them were found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, and Beth-Shan is actually referred to in one of them. A certain king of Jerusalem, named Abdi-Khiba (or, as some read, Arad-Khiba), wrote a letter to the king of Egypt in which he complained that as far as the lands of Seir, and as far as Gath-Carmel (near the modern Haifa), the lands had revolted and were hostile to him. Tagi (a guardian of the Egyptian king's caravan) had got the land of Gath-Carmel, and the men of Gath were in occupation of Beth-Shan. Before the death of Amenophis IV Palestine had passed entirely out of the control of Egypt, the

main cause being the king's fervid devotion to his religion, which made him neglect the affairs of his empire. Beth-Shan was therefore no longer under Egyptian control. In addition to the Hittites, other people were now advancing into Syria and Palestine. These were nomadic Semites, called Khabiru and Suti in the Amarna correspondence. The Khabiru are identified by some with the Hebrews. During the whole of these troublous times the Amenophis temple appears to have been in use.

3. *Temple of Seti I.* Palestine was reconquered by the Egyptians in the time of Seti I, who reigned from 1313–1292 B.C. When this monarch came to Beth-Shan in the first year of his reign he erected there an exact duplicate of the Amenophis temple, which he dedicated to Ashtōreth, immediately on the ruins of the older one, and he also set up two large monuments, one of which records among other things his capture of the fort. A people called the Apiru are referred to in the other monument, though in what connection it is difficult to say, as the text is badly weathered. Some authorities identify them with the Hebrews. Below the temple floor we found a number of faience cartouches bearing the name of Rameses I, the immediate predecessor of Seti I.[1] Some very interesting remains were unearthed in the Seti temple, including a gold figurine of a goddess, a cylindrical sacred flower-stand adorned with figures of birds, a very large sixteen-handled bowl, a baking tray, doubtless used in connection with the cakes offered to Ashtōreth, a large pottery box with three studs on either side to which the lid was tied, a vase having the head of a lion one end and the head of a bull the other end, figurines of Ashtōreth, and a beautiful alabaster jar with two handles in the form of the heads and horns of ibexes. Just to the north of the temple were discovered a very well made pottery model of a hippopotamus on a flat base, a part of a pottery model of a horse showing the animal's head with headstall, Egyptian amulets, and so on. It was also here that we came across a valuable treasure in the shape of a mass of ingots and small jewellery, mostly silver, in the midst of which was a beautiful golden armlet. The total weight of the whole is about 2 lb. 15 oz. avdp.

4. *Temples of Rameses II.*—Seti I was succeeded by Rameses II, who came to the throne of Egypt in 1292 B.C. This king set up

[1] The presence of the name of the former king on the objects is accounted for by the fact that Seti was the co-regent of Rameses I for some time.

two temples on the tell top, the southern one immediately over the ruins of the Seti temple, and the other just to the north of the former. Both are referred to in the Old Testament. A little to the west of them he erected a monument which contains a reference to the town of "Raamses," mentioned in Exod. i, 11, as having been built by the Israelites. The reference does not name the Israelites, but states that Rameses had driven back the Asiatics and had "pacified the fighting which had occurred among everyone, and that those who desired it they came to him all bowing down at his city of 'Rameses—Great-of-Victories.'"

5. *Southern Temple of Rameses II.*—The southern temple of Rameses II comprised a long rectangular building having its axis from west to east, and its main entrance at the west. From an inscribed door jamb we learn that the building was made by an Egyptian official called Rameses-Wesr-Khepesh, an overseer of bowmen, commander of the troops of Pharaoh, royal scribe and palace overseer. He is so far the oldest known governor of Beth-Shan.

Its interior as excavated consisted of a hall with six column bases, three on either side, with a low wall connecting them. How high the columns were we cannot say, as they had been removed in ancient days. Against the centre column base on the north side of the hall we found a pot full of gold and silver ingots and jewellery, over 6 lb. avdp. in weight, and against the opposite base on the south side of the hall a pot filled with silver jewellery and ingots weighing over 5 lb. avdp. On the right-hand side and left-hand side of the hall from the entrance were various small rooms, in one of which was unearthed a magnificent serpentine cylinder seal bearing the name and figure of Rameses II. The king is depicted as shooting an arrow at his Palestinian foes, two of whom are shown tied up below a Palestinian fort standard, doubtless that of Beth-Shan. Facing Rameses is the figure of the warrior god Resheph, in whose honour the temple must have been erected. From the building came a quantity of strange-looking cult objects, some comprising models of shrines, others comprising cylindrical flower-stands, many of which were adorned with figures of serpents, doves, deities, etc. They all appear to be Cypriote-Aegean in origin, and the forms of these particular examples were doubtless introduced into Beth-Shan by the Mediterranean mercenaries whom Rameses employed in his armies in Palestine.

We have, as a matter of fact, actually found in the Beth-Shan cemetery the burials of some of these mercenaries. Their graves consist of a chamber or a series of connecting chambers, with a small entrance, in which were placed large pottery anthropoid sarcophagi of the so-called "slipper" type. All the sarcophagi are cylindrical in form and taper down towards the base, their maximum diameter being about where the shoulders of the corpse would be when placed in them. They have movable lids, upon which are modelled in high relief the features of the deceased, with crossed arms and hands. Our evidence indicates that these burials date from about the time of Seti I or Rameses II to the time of Rameses III (1198–1167 B.C.). Sarcophagi very similar to ours, and dating, according to their discoverers, from the time of Thothmes III to the XXVIth Dynasty (*c.* 600 B.C.), have been found in Egypt at Tell el-Yahudiyeh, at Tell Nebesheh near Lake Menzaleh, at Saft el-Henneh to the east of Zagazig in the Delta, and at Suwa to the south of the latter town. Most of them have Mediterranean pottery with them. Associated with the Beth-Shan anthropoid burials were vases of the type called "stirrup," lentoid flasks, and other pottery of purely Mediterranean type. A most interesting object was a gold foil mouthplate, lozenge shaped, with a hole at each end, which was originally tied over the mouth of the body before it was laid in the sarcophagus. Similar mouthpieces have been found in Cyprus and in various countries directly affected by the Aegean civilization. Other associated objects are open Palestinian pottery lamps, small plaques or bead-spreaders inscribed with figures of Egyptian deities, beautiful onyx figure of the Egyptian god Bes, pendants and beads of carnelian, etc., scarabs, some mounted in gold, and a bronze ring with a scaraboid attached to it. Certain of the burials even had Egyptian *ushebti* figures (*i.e.* models of field workers for helping the deceased in the Other World) with them, which fact is not surprising when we consider that the religion of the mercenaries must have been strongly influenced by that of their Egyptian officers. As a matter of fact, the presence of the sacred Nilotic amulets and figurines shows that whatever deities of their own the mercenaries may have worshipped, they probably also revered some of the gods of the Pharaohs. Further, it was quite an easy matter for them to identify with Hathor or Isis of Egypt (and incidentally with Ashtōreth of Palestine) their own great Mother Goddess who was universally

worshipped over the whole of the regions of the Aegean and northern parts of the eastern Mediterranean.

6. *Northern Temple of Rameses II.*—The northern temple of Rameses II. which is separated from the southern one by a court originally comprised a square building with four columns in the interior. Both these buildings, as we shall see presently, were in use for some time after the death of the king and consequently underwent certain structural alterations. Just as the southern temple was dedicated to the local god (Resheph), so was the northern temple dedicated to the local goddess (Ashtōreth) who was his consort. We actually found in the latter structure a highly important monument depicting the great goddess herself, in the form of Anat the warrior-goddess, with whom she was identified. She is here called the "queen of heaven, mistress of all the gods," and is, of course, the same goddess as that referred to under a similar title in various places in the Old Testament. Compare, for example, Jer. xliv. 17, etc.: "But we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth, to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her." Near the monument we discovered part of a royal statue of an Egyptian king, and outside the temple a monument bearing the name and figure of an Egyptian official named Amen-em-Apt, who held the position of overseer of the granaries of Pharaoh, and steward of the palace. Now in the famous Anastasi papyrus of the time of Rameses II we meet with a man of this name who is questioned about Beth-Shan by Hori another scribe. The latter says "O, scribe, to whom nothing is unknown, thou art sent on an expedition to [Palestine?] at the head of a victorious army. You do not know how to ration them. The army wants to start, but there is no bread. Why do you punish the men? This is not good. . . . Pray, teach me about Qua (west of Beth-Shan), Rehob (south of Beth-Shan), Beth-Shan and Tarqel. How is the stream of the Jordan crossed? Tell me about the crossing over to Megiddo." Even if the Amen-em-Apt of the Beth-Shan monument and the Amen-em-Apt of the papyrus are not one and the same person, the mention in the papyrus of Beth-Shan is worth drawing attention to.[1]

[1] On this Amenemapt (or Amenemope), see *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii. 326 *sq.*, where a summary paraphrase is given of this famous papyrus.

7. *Philistine Occupation of Beth-Shan.*—From the time of Rameses II, who died in 1225 B.C., to the time of Rameses III of the XXth Dynasty, who came to the throne in 1198 B.C., the Egyptians were in complete control of Beth-Shan. About 1187 B.C. peoples of Aegean-Anatolian origin, comprising the Philistines and their allies, overran Palestine and Syria, but were repulsed by Rameses III, who eventually came to Beth-Shan and erected a statue of himself there, which was found in 1923.

About 1020 B.C., and according to the Old Testament account contained in I Sam. xxxi, and I Chron. x, the Philistines who had taken possession of Beth-Shan not so very long after the death of Rameses III in 1167 B.C., defeated the Israelites upon Mount Gilboa, to the south-west of that place, and fixed the body of Saul of Israel to the wall of the fortress (variant account, " fastened his head in the temple of Dagon ") and placed his armour in the " house of Ashtaroth " (variant account, " house of their gods.") Subsequently the body of Saul and the bodies of his three sons were taken by stealth from Beth-Shan and buried at Jabesh-Gilead, a place situated a little distance to the south-east of Beth-Shan on the east side of the River Jordan.

With regard to the Philistine invasion, it must be remarked that from the time of Seti I to the time of Rameses III there were already other people from the Aegean-Anatolian regions, in the form of the Egyptian mercenaries, permanently installed at Beth-Shan. These troops then, at the decease of Rameses III, evidently took possession of the place for themselves, and subsequently amalgamated with the incoming Philistines, who were allied to most of them in race.

Our evidence indicates that the two temples of Rameses II were actually in use during the time of the Philistines when, according to the Old Testament account, there was still a god and a goddess being worshipped at Beth-Shan, the former evidently in the southern temple (where Resheph was originally worshipped) and the latter in the northern temple (where Antit-Ashtōreth was once worshipped). The name of the new god was Dagon (*cf.* I Chron. x, 10, " And they put his armour in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the temple of Dagon ") and that of the goddess Ashtōreth (*cf.* I Sam. xxxi, 10. " And they put his armour in the house of Ashtaroth : and they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-Shan "). Thus it

will be seen that in the passage in Chronicles the temple in which the armour was placed—the northern one—is called "house of their gods," and in the passage in Samuel, "house of Ashtaroth." but there is really no inconsistency in this fact, for it must be remembered that "Ashtārōth" is merely the plural form of "Ashtōreth." The Revised Version of the Old Testament gives the latter quotation more correctly as "They put his armour in the house of *the* Ashtaroth."

8. *Dagon and Ashtōreth.—Dagon* was the chief god of the Philistines after their settlement in Palestine. He had temples at Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon and Beth-Shan, and probably also at Beth-Dagon. Although in later times Dagon was thought to be half man and half fish, it appears that originally he was an agricultural deity (named from *dagan*, "corn") from which position he seems to have developed into a war-god.[1] *Ashtōreth* (or Astarte), the great goddess of love and war, appears in the Assyro-Babylonian literature as Ishtar, the goddess of fertility, productiveness, and love on the one hand, and of war, death and decay on the other, a personification of the earth as it passes through the summer and winter seasons. Elul, the sixth month, and the height of summer was sacred to her, for it was in this month, through her powers, that the ripening of vegetable life (represented by the god Tammuz) took place. The coming of Tammuz was heralded by Ishtar's festival in Ab, the fifth month.[2] From the fact that the armour of Saul was placed in her temple, we may assume that Ashtōreth was at this time, as in the past, in the form of Antit, mainly regarded in Beth-Shan as a war goddess.

9. *Israelites and others Conquer Beth-Shan.*—Somewhere about 1000 B.C. King David of Israel seems to have taken Beth-Shan from the Philistines. He probably also was responsible for the

[1] Some interesting particulars regarding the Dagon temple at Ashdod are given in I Sam. v.

[2] From this period of the year the vegetation decays and finally disappears in the winter. Thus the goddess, who had failed to sustain the life she had created, became identified with death and decay. Filled with remorse because of the departure of the vegetation (Tammuz) she set forth in quest of him to the underworld. During this time the propagation of life ceased, but finally came into being again with the return of Ishtar and Tammuz again after the winter period. During his annual visit to the underworld, women wept for Tammuz (*see* Ezek. viii, 14).

partial demolition of the "house of Ashtaroth" and the "temple of Dagon." During the time of the Israelitish occupation there was doubtless a sanctuary or tabernacle to the god of Israel at Beth-Shan. Where it really stood we do not know, but the only extant building on the tell that was large enough or suitable enough for it was either the Ashtōreth temple or the Dagon temple. So if there was such a sanctuary at Beth-Shan it seems quite possible that in the shape of one of these converted buildings we actually have the oldest known Israelitish building dedicated to Yahweh (Jehovah).

Our next reference to the town belongs to the time of Solomon, for we read in I Kings iv, 12, that it was incorporated in a certain district held by Baana, an official of the king. During the time of Solomon's successor, Rehoboam, king Sheshonk I of Egypt invaded Palestine. This was in 926 B.C. His troops entered the plain of Esdraelon and plundered Beth-Shan and other towns. From about the 8th century to 626 B.C., the time of the Scythian invasion, Beth-Shan was in the hands of the Assyrians. One of the remains of the Assyrian occupation consists of a magnificent onyx cylinder seal, dating to the older Cassite Dynasty of Babylon, which was found on the tell in 1926. The Scythians were Indo-Europeans from the far north who entered Western Asia, overrunning Assyria, Palestine, etc. In much later times the city was known as Scythopolis, or "City of the Scythians," but whether or not the first part of this name refers to the Scythian invasion, or is a corruption of some word other than "Scythian," is not known.

Following on the breaking up of the Assyrian Empire, Necho, king of Egypt, set out to conquer Palestine in 608 B.C., and when he reached the plain of Esdraelon he defeated Josiah king of Judah. He then pressed on to the Euphrates, doubtless taking *en route* the city of Beth-Shan. He was, however, defeated by Nebuchadrezzar, whose father had founded the New Babylonian Empire on the ruins of the old Assyrian one. Nebuchadrezzar invaded Syria and Palestine in 600 B.C. The New Babylonian Empire did not last very long, for in 538 B.C. Cyrus the Persian captured Babylon, and founded the Old Persian Kingdom, which embraced within its extensive limits the province of Syria and Palestine.

10. *Hellenistic, Jewish, Roman and Byzantine Ages.*—The advent of the Macedonian conqueror, Alexander the Great, put an end to

the Old Persian Kingdom in 332 B.C. Three years after the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., Ptolemy Lagi of Egypt invaded Coele-Syria, but subsequently withdrew. He returned, however, in 302 B.C. and subdued the whole of the country. From 301-198 B.C. Palestine remained, with short interruptions, under the rule of the Ptolemies of Egypt. At the end of this period the country came under the domination of the Seleucidae, as a result of its conquest by Antiochus III. The Seleucidae were kings of Syria who took their name from Seleucus (a general of Alexander the Great), who subsequently became the founder of the Syrian monarchy. Somewhere about the third century B.C. a large stone temple, perhaps dedicated to Astarte-Atargatis, or to Dionysos, was erected on the tell at Beth-Shan. It was 72 feet wide and 121 feet long. In a reservoir to the south of it was found the head of a large marble statue.

The town yielded to John Hyrcanus, the prince and high priest of the Jews, and the conqueror of Samaria and Peraea, in 107 B.C., and remained under Jewish rule until the arrival of Pompey in 64 B.C. Thus commenced the Roman period, which may be said to have lasted until 330 A.D., when the Byzantine (or Eastern Roman Christian) period was inaugurated by Constantine the Great. The latter period ended in Beth-Shan in 63 A.D. with the conquest of the Arabs. In Roman times Beth-Shan was the chief city of the famous Decapolis, or league of ten cities, all of which, with the exception of Beth-Shan, were on the east side of the Jordan. It soon became greater than Jerusalem in population and commerce, and a large theatre and hippodrome were erected to the south of the tell.

Very important objects of the Hellenistic and Roman ages have been found in the Beth-Shan cemetery. The tombs of this time are as a rule of the *loculus* type, which consists of a rectangular rock-cut hall with *loculi* (*i.e.* oblong chambers) cut in its sides. Into these were deposited either the bodies alone, or else the sarcophagi containing them, the feet or the head being placed towards the hall. Often after the side chambers were filled up burials were actually made in the hall itself, sometimes in sarcophagi, and sometimes in trough-like graves, excavated in the floor and covered with slabs. Children were generally buried in small slots made in the hall floor or in small pottery boxes with sliding lids. The roof of the hall is usually vaulted and, like the walls, covered with a thin layer of

white plaster. In one of these tombs was actually discovered, in 1922, the sarcophagus of Antiochus, first cousin of Herod the Great (37–34 B.C.). When the cover of the sarcophagus was removed it was seen that the latter was partly filled with a layer of dried and cracked clay or mud. After this layer was taken away the bones of two skeletons were found at the bottom of the sarcophagus, the one skeleton belonging to a man—evidently Antiochus—and the other to a child—evidently a girl. The north end of the sarcophagus was broken, and it seems quite likely that it was through the forced aperture that the later and intrusive burial, as that of the girl must have been, was made inside the sarcophagus. Both skulls were found at the south end. Associated with the skeletons were a number of broken long-necked glass vases, a small glass pot, part of a gold earring, and part of some small bronze object, perhaps a trinket.

The Christian (Byzantine) tombs, as a rule, consist of a small vaulted rock-cut hall with vaulted graves on three sides of it. The graves, which are divided from the hall by means of small walls of stone covered with plaster, usually have a rock head-rest at one end of them. Certain of these tombs have crosses in red paint, usually three, painted over each grave. Most of the tombs (like those of the Hellenistic-Roman times) have a flight of steps and stone doors belonging to them. One such door, bearing the name of the deceased, Apolinarius, is being sent to Philadelphia.

The objects found in the 1926 excavation season in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine tombs are very important. Among them may be mentioned alabaster vessels; a good quantity of pottery of all shapes, some of it being of the fine red-polished type; many fine glass vessels; *askoi* (*i.e.* "wine-skin" shaped vessels), one in the form of a ram; pottery statuettes, one probably representing the goddess Isis with her child Horus; part of a statuette showing a rider on a horse; a good number of pottery lamps; glass mirrors set in limestone frames; sistra, bells, buckles and knives, all of bronze; a quantity of glass beads of various colours and forms; decorated bone hairpins, and so on. A very interesting find was a cubical pottery die, marked and shaped like our modern dice, with points numbering from one to six. In one Roman tomb we came across a magnificent incense shovel, with a handle in the form of

an animal's leg; this is being sent to Philadelphia. In certain tombs crudely made limestone portrait busts, some bearing the name of the deceased, have been unearthed.[1] Exactly what ideas on an existence beyond the grave were possessed by the local peoples of the time when the earliest tombs so far found by us were made we have no actual evidence. That, like the Byzantines, they believed in a future state is certainly shown by the care they took in the disposal of their dead, and by the presence in the tombs of pottery and other objects of those very types which were of the greatest value to them in their everyday life.

In addition to the Byzantine remains discovered in the cemetery many other important remains of the same period were found on the tell, and include two churches, one of basilica-form (4th century A.D.) and one of rotunda-form (6th century A.D.), as well as large city walls, inscriptions, and so on; most of these were discovered during the years 1921 to 1923 inclusive. The history of the town in early Christian times is a very extensive one and cannot be entered into here.

Beth-Shan is frequently referred to by various early Christian writers, among whom may be mentioned the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 A.D.), Theodosius (530 A.D.), Antoninus Placentinus (*c.* 570 A.D.), and the Russian, Abbot Daniel (1106–1107 A.D.). The last writer states that in his time Beth-Shan was "a very dreadful and dangerous place." He records that "near the town, on the east side, there is a remarkable natural cavern in the form of a cross; from it flows a spring, which runs into a miraculous reservoir, not made by man's hands, but created by God. In this basin Christ Himself bathed with His disciples, and the stone on which He sat can be seen to this day. We unworthy sinners bathed there."

[1] As a rule, the very oldest graves in our cemetery, those of the early Bronze Age, are found at the top of its slope. The graves of all the other periods are cut indiscriminately here and there over the whole of the valley side, and very frequently break into one another, causing in many cases a great disturbance of the original burial equipment. It is thus a common occurrence to find in a single tomb objects belonging, say, to the time of the anthropoid burials and to the Byzantine era, periods which are separated from one another by an interval of 1,500 years.

11. *Arabic and later Periods.*—The end of the Byzantine era in Beth-Shan came in 636 A.D., when the Byzantines were defeated by the Arabs. In the history of the Moslems the day of the battle is known as the "Day of Beisān." During the time of the Crusaders the city is described as a small place, with extensive ruins of former edifices and many marble remains. The Crusaders transferred from it the Episcopal See, as an Archbishopric, to Nazareth. Beth-Shan, though weak, was gallantly defended by the Crusaders against Saladin in 1182, although the very next year it was deserted on his approach and, after being plundered, was consigned to the flames.

Since its conquest by Saladin the site has been visited by various famous travellers, Christian, Arabic and Jewish, including Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre (1220 A.D.), and Yakut, the Arab geographer (13th century). During the beginning of the 14th century the Jewish geographer Esthori ben Moshe hap-Parchi lived in the town. It was visited by Sir John Maundeville, and many more recent travellers mention it.

In 1832 Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt took Palestine from the Turks, who had held it since about the commencement of the 16th century. He was driven out in 1840 and the country regained by the Porte, who finally lost it in 1918. Since Palestine has been under the British Mandate (issued in 1922) Beth-Shan has been allocated to the Nazareth area of the northern district of Palestine, and is now in charge of Hanna Effendi Boulos, a local district officer of Palestinian origin, who may be said to be none other than the successor of Rameses-Wesr-Khepesh, the first known district officer, who lived in the days of Rameses II, three thousand two hundred years ago.

From what we have already written it will be realized that Beth-Shan was one of the most important towns in Palestine in ancient times, and that the excavations carried out on the site by the Philadelphia University Expedition have already yielded treasures of the very greatest value, not only for the history of Beth-Shan but also for that of Palestine in general. No man of course can say what kind of antiquities our future excavations will unearth, but that they will continue to be as important as those found in the past there is no reason to doubt.

DETAILS OF EIGHT CITY-LEVELS ALREADY FOUND ON TELL AT BETH-SHAN.

| City-Level on Tell. | Historical Periods Represented by Each Level. | Dates. |
|---|---|---|
| I. | Arabic, Crusader, etc. .... .... .... | 636 A.D.—19th century (approx.). |
| II. | Byzantine, or Eastern Roman Christian. (*Two churches*) | 330 A.D.—636 A.D. |
| III. | Hellenistic (*Temple*), Jewish and Roman | 301 B.C.—329 A.D. |
| IV. | Late Ramesside, Philistine, Israelite, Assyrian, Scythian, New Babylonian, Old Persian, etc. | 1224 B.C.—300 B.C. |
| V. | Rameses II (*Two Temples.* Northern one, "House of Ashtaroth" of I Sam. xxxi, 10, and southern one, "Temple of Dagon" of I Chron. x, 10. Both were in use until at least Israelitish times, *i.e.* c. 1000 B.C.) | 1292 B.C.—1225 B.C. |
| VI. | Seti I. Two levels—Late Seti; Early Seti. (*Temple*) | 1313 B.C.—1292 B.C. |
| VII. | Amenophis III. (*Temple*). Length of reign | 1411 B.C.—1375 B.C. |
| VIII. | Below Amenophis III. Period represented by level not yet identified | (?) —1412 B.C. |

During the time from 1374 B.C. to 1314 B.C., the temple of Amenophis III was still in existence, so that the VIIth level may really be said to have come to an end at the latter date. Further, the two examples in the Vth level were undoubtedly in use during the early part of the IVth era, that is to say, during late Ramesside, Philistine and perhaps even Israelitish times (*i.e.* to about 1000 B.C.). As such was evidently not the case with many non-religious buildings, we have, with the above exceptions, and until further excavations decide the point, identified the Vth level as a whole with the era of Rameses II.

See Conchies, p. 157

## THE SITE OF SHILOH.

By A. T. Richardson.

I have again had opportunities of visiting the sites of Seilun, and Beit-Sila, and would suggest reasons (*a*) why Seilun is not the position of the Shiloh where the ark was put in the time of Joshua, and (*b*) the possibility that Beit-Sila is the actual site.

(*a*) In Judges, xxi, we have, apparently, two places mentioned, viz. שִׁלֹה and שִׁלוֹ. In *v.* 12 the former place is described as being "in the land of Canaan." In *v.* 19, the latter is exactly located —"On the north of Bethel, on the east side of the highway going up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah." These words give an accurate description of the position of the scanty ruins (which include a mosque) now called Seilun. Why is this accurate locating of the place regarded necessary by the speakers (the Elders of the congregation)? The answer seems to be that they were themselves in session at שִׁלֹה and that שִׁלוֹ was a comparatively unknown village, to which they suggest that the Benjamites now with them should go.

1. Meetings of the Elders were held before and after the defeat of the Benjamites, at Bethel, Mizpah, and שִׁלֹה. They had seized four hundred maidens from Jabesh Gilead, and brought them to שִׁלֹה in the Canaanite area. From thence they summoned the remnant of the Benjamites from Rimmon, where they had taken refuge, and Benjamin *returned* (*v.* 14); presumably, that is, into their own territory, where the fighting had occurred.

2. As the site of Seilun is within the borders of the tribe of Ephraim, it is unlikely that the writer of Judges, xxi, would say that the Benjamites *returned* there.

3. At a later meeting it was suggested that the Benjamites might get a further number of wives, by making a raid on the maidens of שִׁלוֹ, the location of which is told to them with careful accuracy, probably because it was comparatively unknown to them.

4. As שלה, where the meeting was being held, was then the religious capital of the nation, it seems improbable that the Israelite "parliament" would suggest that the Benjamites should make a raid on the women of the capital. On the other hand, if שלו were a small and unimportant village, some twenty miles away, we can understand how the Elders expected to be able to quieten any complaints from the inhabitants of that village (*v.* 22).

5. Accordingly, the remnant of the Benjamites start from שלה, make their raid on the maidens of שלו, and *return* (*v.* 23) to their own area, from which we may presume them to have started.

6. Finally, the matter having been settled, the members of the other tribe depart "from thence," *i.e.* from the Benjamite area, where the trouble arose, to their own respective inheritances (*v.* 24).

If the above is the correct interpretation, it points to the fact that we ought to look for the position of שלה within the area of the Tribe of Benjamin.

Further considerations are these :—

1. If a town X is described in any document or history as lying between the places A and B, we naturally think of X as less well known than A and B. Now, though Bethel and Shechem were well known, yet שלה was the religious capital, and a recognized place of meeting for all the tribes. Hence we are led to suppose that שלו was a place less well known than either Bethel or Shechem, and a fortiori less well known than שלה.

2. No one would think of *describing* Jerusalem as a place about half-way between Bethlehem and Shafat, although the description would be nearly correct. Equally, a description of the position of the early capital as between two less important towns, is unlikely.

3. If we read in any book the phrase "Bethlehem which is on the road between Nazareth and Haifa," we must conclude either that the writer has made a bad blunder, or else that he is so well informed that he knows that there is a town called Bethlehem in the north of Palestine, and also that this is far less known than Bethlehem of Judaea. We know that this latter explanation is the correct one. Hence, there is at least the possibility that a similar explanation will lead to the true understanding of Judges, xxi, 19, viz. that the writer knew that שלו was not the same place as שלה.

4. The American School has begun excavations on the site Seilun. And so far as I could gather from inquiry or observation nothing has been found which can be ascribed to an earlier period than the Arab occupation.

(*b*) I have already suggested that the site of שלה should be sought in the Benjamite area. Now if you leave the north end of Beitunia and take the track leading in the direction of Kubeibeh (seen in the distance), down the Wady Mahmūd, about half a mile down the valley you see a clump of olives, with fig-trees further on. Around these fig-trees lie some extensive ruins now called Beit-Sila. They are about half an hour's walk from Beitunia.

The name Beit-Sila suggests that there may have been a city here called (at some time or other) בית־שלה and this may be the site for which we are looking.

1. It is within the Benjamite area.

2. It is within the area of the Hivites, whose chief cities were Gibeon (El-Jib), Chephirah (Kefireh), Beeroth (el-Bireh) and Kirjath Jearim (Kuryet Enab): Joshua, ix, 17. Now these Hivites were expressly exempted from extermination (*v.* 20), but had been made hewers of wood and drawers of water for the assembly, and for the altar of the Lord (*v.* 27). Their territory might well be described as "the Canaanite area" (*see* Judges, xxi, 12); somewhat after the manner of the use of the phrase "Indian Reserve," in U.S.A. If they had to perform duties for the meetings of the Assembly of the Twelve Tribes, and for the services of the Tabernacle, surely both the place of meeting, and the place of sacrifice are more likely to be situated near to their dwellings, rather than at Seilun which is sixteen miles in a straight line from their city Gibeon.

3. The position of Beit-Sila is one of enormous natural strength. The ruins, which I estimate as being about 200 yards long and about 50 yards wide, at the upper end, lie on a tongue of land which forms the final division between the beginning of Wady Imyash on the north and Wady Mahbis on the south. Both then unite to form the Wady Imyash, and if the gate of the city were at the end of the tongue, it would look right down this great valley leading to the Philistine plain (*cf.* 1 Sam. iv, 11 13, LXX). The city stands in the centre of a huge natural "theatre" whose wings extend from Beitunia, and would afford accommodation for many thousands to witness the ascent of the smoke from the burnt-offerings.

In the time of Jeremiah, some half-millennium after Joshua, Shiloh was in ruins (Jer. vii, 12); and Jeremiah prophesies a like fate for Jerusalem and the Temple (Jer. vii, 14; xxvi, 6, 9). By this time the spelling varied between שלה and שלו; and probably the village had become forgotten. But Jeremiah's suggestion that his audience should visit the old sanctuary and see its ruins for themselves would come more naturally if it were some seven miles from Jerusalem, and in the area of the Kingdom of Judah, than if it were farther away, and in the Samaritan country. Probably many of his hearers had seen the ruins.

But after the Babylonian captivity, the distinction between the Sanctuary (שלה) and the village (שלו) had been forgotten, and the situation of the latter as given in Judges, xxi, 19) was taken as applicable to the former. The mistake has continued to the present day. The ruins which exist at Beit-Sila at present are unlikely to be those of the Sanctuary; but these latter may lie underneath. On these points I am not qualified to judge. But I hope that someone with expert archaeological knowledge will investigate the matter, which I have examined from the point of view of *verba scripta* only. Further, it is possible that the pointing of the two words, to represent the original pronunciation, should be שִׁלָה and שִׁלוֹ; this would seem to be borne out by the present pronunciations Sila,[1] and Seilun.

If it be supposed that the location in question is a later addition, that addition was evidently made by someone to whom we cannot ascribe first-hand knowledge, and is therefore not of sufficient authority for the position of שלה in the early days of the Judges. But any suggestion of interpolation here can only be a guess, and one with little foundation.

[1] I find that Beit-Sila, and not Beit-Silo, is the correct pronunciation of the present day.

# NOTES ON THE SITES OF SUCCOTH AND PENUEL AS BEARING UPON THE ROUTES OF GIDEON AND JACOB.

By The Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Scot.).

Succoth is generally identified with the ruins known as Tell Deir Alla,[1] situated at the bend of the Zerka river a few miles north of its junction with the Jordan. This identification rests chiefly on the fact that the Jerusalem Talmud speaks of Succoth as Ter'ala. The identification has, however, not been confirmed by excavation.

Sketch-map of the district of Es-Salt.

Succoth must have been somewhere near to a river where reeds grew in such strength and profusion that they could be used for making reed-and-mud huts or booths—just such reed-and-mud

[1] An identification first suggested by Merrill; *see* "The Identification of Succoth and Penuel," *Quarterly Statement*, 1878, pp. 81–88.

huts as we see at the village of Nimrin to-day shortly after crossing the Bridge of Jordan beyond Jericho. There must have been a supply of thorns and briers also in its vicinity (Judges viii, 16) if the Succoth of Gideon is that of Jacob's wanderings. To suit both narratives, also, it must have been close to the main route between Shechem and Transjordania. This implies that it must have been somewhere near to the point where the Zerka or Jabbok enters the Jordan valley. Further, Succoth must have been surrounded with such quantity of vegetation as would tempt a nomad shepherd to make a prolonged stay. It must also have been a fortress of some sort, a guard upon the entrance to East Jordan-land; for Succoth and Penuel are coupled together in such a way as suggests they were both towers or fortresses.

The situation of Deir Alla would satisfy most of these conditions. The strongest objections are that if Succoth was a fortified place it was more likely to occupy a higher and less assailable position than Deir Alla affords; and Deir Alla, which is practically in the Jordan valley, would not be likely to provide provender for many months on end at that level.

There is strong evidence that the occupation and cultivation of the Jordan Valley was abandoned in the Bronze Age, chiefly probably on account of marauding nomads from the hills. One expert, who has given attention to this matter, tells me that the pottery of the Jordan valley, so far as his experience goes, points to this conclusion. If Deir Alla were examined, therefore, it would very likely prove to be early enough to satisfy both the period of Jacob and of Gideon.

Succoth, however, appears to be a well-known place in the time of Solomon (*c.* 950 B.C.), for in 1 Kings vii, 46, we find that Hiram moulded the brass ornaments which he made for Solomon's Temple in the clay ground between Succoth and Zaretan. If Zaretan is the Zartanah of 1 Kings iv, 12, it was situated "beneath Jezreel" on the west side of the Jordan. In 2 Chron. iv, 17, Zaretan is named Zaredathah. This is important evidence for the location of Succoth, but if Zaretan of 1 Kings vii is the Zartanah of 1 Kings iv, it can hardly be said that Deir Alla is opposite to Jezreel and Bethsheen.

Ps. lx, 6, is much more in favour of Deir Alla. It speaks of Shechem and Succoth as being opposite to each other, which would suit the Deir Alla identification. (*Cf. also* Ps. cviii, 7.)

These references in the Psalms bring the existence of Succoth down to a period much later than Solomon. The claim of Deir Alla, therefore, can only be settled by excavation. If the pottery found in Deir Alla prove that it ceased to be occupied at a very early date its identification with Succoth would be doubtful at least. It is clear, however, from such evidence as we possess, that Succoth was situated somewhere quite close to the mouth of the Jabbok.

### *The Plain El-Ardah* (العرضة).

A short distance up the Zerka from Deir Alla the south bank of the river rises steeply to a plain which is known to-day as El-Ardah. I do not find it marked on any map, but one at least of the ancient sites within it is marked on a German map, viz. the ruins known to-day as "A'alān." Tell A'alān is situated on the eastern edge of the plain, a short distance from the southern entrance. The ruins marked El-Harat are also inside the plain.

The name Ardah is probably connected with the Arabic word 'Arīd ("broad") and may mean "the small broad place." It is not an extensive plain, being not more than five or six miles long and about five miles at its widest part; but situated as it is in the midst of surrounding hills, varying from 2,000 to 3,000 feet in height above sea-level, it quite deserves the name of "broadland," or plain, though its surface is by no means level.

There are two entrances to the plain one at the north-west corner, which is exceedingly narrow and leads by a steep descent to the south bank of the Zerka (or Jabbok) almost opposite to Tell Deir Alla, and the other at the extreme southern end. The southern entrance is quite as narrow and is about two hours' ride (*c.* 10 miles) from the modern village of Es-Salt, and five miles from Jebel Hosha'.

The plain is bounded on the north by the River Zerka, with Jebel Ajlun just behind it. The ancient fort, known as Khala'at Rabad, on the top of Ajlun, is conspicuous from the moment of entrance at the southern end.

On the east side are the low hills known as Jebel Siḥa, on the lower slope of which stand the ruins known as A'alān. On the west it is bounded by the second level of the high hills above Jordan

(*c.* 2,000-1,500 feet above sea-level[1]). These eastern and western hills close in upon it at the southern end, leaving only the small entrance, and the western Jebel (2,000 feet high) approaches the Zerka so closely that only a narrow pass, the north-west entrance, is left leading down to the Zerka valley.[1]

The plain is roughly farmed, patches of barley appearing all over its surface. It is excellent soil and would yield splendid results if properly cultivated. At intervals over its surface there still stand stumps of oak trees, which have been docked of upper trunk and branches at a height of about 10 feet, so that they have now bunched out in branches. At one time it may have been an oak forest. For many years the Bedawīn, to whom belongs the right of pasture and cultivation, cut down these trees and made charcoal, which they sold. Seeing, however, that they would soon exhaust their supply of firewood, they have now stopped cutting them down, but lop their trunks and branches instead.

The plain is therefore dotted over with these stumpy oaks, so that it looks like an extensive park round a country house in England.

It has the further advantage of possessing several powerful springs which pour their excellent water lavishly over its surface.

If we enter this plain at the north-west corner ascending the southern bank of the Zerka, almost immediately on arrival we find two most powerful springs of beautiful water. Beside these springs I found the trunks of oak trees hollowed out to form troughs, the ends being roughly closed up with mud plaster and stones.

The presence of such an inexhaustible supply of water would in itself be sufficient guarantee that these springs mark the site of a town or fortress dating from the earliest times. It is the exact spot which the Canaanite or the Hebrew would have chosen for an important settlement.

The formation of the ground otherwise favours this. At this point the plain has developed into a narrow deep valley running west to north-west towards the River Zerka, with a small stream in the bottom of it, which is fed partly by the two springs mentioned above.

[1] *See* Palestine Exploration Survey Map (used also by Sir George Adam Smith). I give these details to define its position, as the plain is not marked on any map and this region has never been mapped.

FIG. 1.—WALL AT NORTH-WEST END OF EL-ARDAH—TELL SUBEIḤ.

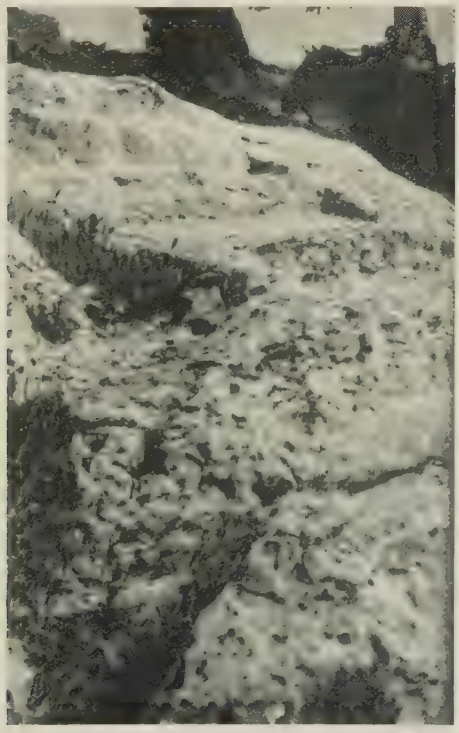


FIG. 2.—ROCK-CUT STEPS AT TELL SUBEIḤ.

*To face p.* 92.]

FIG. 3.—PILLAR DRUMS, ROMAN PERIOD. PLAIN OF EL-ARDAH.

FIG. 4.—ROMAN REMAINS. PLAIN OF EL-ARDAH.

FIG. 5.—ROMAN MILE STONES.

*Ruins—Tell Subeih* (صُبَيْح) (Fig. 1).

On the south-eastern side of this valley, just beside these two powerful wells, there are many blocks of Roman masonry, which undoubtedly mark the ruins of a fortress or town of the Roman period, perhaps earlier. These stones have been mostly used up in building walls for fields. The surface ruins are therefore blurred and unintelligible. No foundations of buildings could be traced.

Right opposite to these remains, at a distance of *c.* 400 yards, perhaps, on the north slope of the little side valley, are the ruins known to-day as Tell Subeiḥ. These lie round another fine spring, whose overflow runs down the valley to the Zerka.

The surface ruins of Tell Subeiḥ belong to a later date than those already described, and rank with those found at Seekh Ayûb, which are described later (Fig. 1). No pottery could be seen on the ground, and a scattered modern village now occupies the site. Fig. 1 shows a wall of the Crusading period.

A stair cut in the living rock is probably the approach to the altar of a Canaanite or Hebrew high place (Fig. 2). It cannot be due to recent quarrying for lintels, since the cuttings are wedge-shaped. Neither the altar nor any trace of cup hollows could be seen.

Though these two sets of ruins belong to Roman and Crusading times, it is probable that they mark the sites of Canaanite, and certainly of Hebrew, settlements.

I searched carefully but found no trace of inscription or carving. Nor could I see any trace of masonry which could be attributed to Canaanite or Hebrew times.

On the south slope of the little valley, however, facing the ruins of Subeiḥ I found several rock-cut Hebrew tombs, and several caves that had been early Canaanite cave-dwellings, which are now used as cattle shelters. One, at least, of these cattle shelters had been a cave converted into a Hebrew tomb which has later been excavated and extended, the arcosolia and troughs being partially cut away in the process, and the entrance enlarged to admit cattle.

Undoubtedly there must have been both Canaanite and Hebrew settlements here. No evidence, however, was found to suggest that it might have been Penuel, as my friend Negeeb Kubeisy thought possible. I saw no trace of the foundation ruins of any tower or fortress.

Tell Subeiḥ is quite near to Deir Alla, and stands about 1,000 feet above sea-level: but it could not have been visible to Jacob or at any time from the banks of the Jabbok. It might possibly mark the site of Succoth itself, but it cannot have been Penuel.

The latest occupation of Tell Subeiḥ is, I think, Arab of the Crusading period. Previous to that the Romans had occupied the site, and prior to them the Hebrews.

As it has one sure supply of water close to the southern entrance, two powerful springs at the north-west exit, and a fine spring near the ruins of Subeiḥ, as well as probably other spings that I did not see, this plain must have been an important place in the past history of the country.

*Roman Road and Pillars.*

A Roman road runs right through the plain on its western edge from the southern entrance to the north-west exit. This road undoubtedly marks an ancient route for caravan and foot traffic.

Like the Buqa (Buka) plain near Sueliḥ (on the road to Ammān), the plain is full of ruins, which are mostly buried and hidden by the rough shrubs and undergrowth.

Twenty minutes' ride from the southern entrance, in the higher rough land on the western side of the plain and on the edge of the old Roman road, I found some much-worn Roman mile-stones (Fig. 5). I found a similar mile-stone embedded in the road quite near to Jebel Hosha'.

In the plain, a short distance further north from this spot, I found a group of massive pillars, lying in pieces and detached drums, as if thrown down by an earthquake. These pillars (*see* Figs. 3 and 4) are undoubtedly Roman. The bases measure about 3 feet square and the pillars about 20 inches in diameter.

The capital is Doric, and the pillars plain but roughened by exposure. They closely resemble the massive pillars at the fort of Ammān, but are smaller. Some of them had been set on cubic bases cut out of the living rock. These bases stand in their original position. Many of these pillars have manifestly been broken up to be carried away, and undoubtedly many have been removed.

Here, certainly, had been a town of the Roman period, with probably a temple of the Sun, to which these pillars belonged. Building-stones, many broken up, traces of walls of houses, lie

scattered over a considerable space, and many are concealed by the rough brush and scrub.

The Arabs had evidently settled a little to the south of the Roman settlement, and probably used the Roman ruins as a quarry. What building the rough Arab remains belonged to there was nothing to indicate, but the position and line of the massive Roman pillars could be seen from the bases left in position. This Roman building had faced the east.

In the German map (published by J. C. B. Mohr in Freiburg) I find ruins marked El-Harat. These ruins are apparently the ruins at the north-west entrance of the plain El-Ardah, or those which I have just described.

*Gideon's Route.*

The height of the plain above sea-level, its geographical position as a large cup hollow to catch the rain drainage off the surrounding hill-slopes, and the consequent abundance of provender for cattle to a much later period in the year, along with the perennial supply of water from its springs, made this plain not only an attractive spot for a prolonged settlement to nomad shepherds, but also a main route between the west and the east for those who wished to travel from the mouth of the Jabbok southwards-eastwards, or vice versa.

Assuming that Succoth was somewhere near the mouth of the Zerka (Jabbok), travellers from Succoth must have invariably passed through this plain by the caravan route now marked by the remains of the Roman road, and still a regularly used bridle-path.

As Es-Salt is the next place which has an abundance of water from its famous springs, I can picture streams of flocks, herds and nomads, passing from the Jordan valley, when its verdure was gone, by the mouth of the Jabbok up to this fertile grass-covered plateau with its never-failing springs; and, as the grass grew scanty, moving slowly along the ridges by Jebel Hosha' to Es-Salt, and from there eastwards by the fine springs at Suelih to Ammân (Rabbath-Ammon).

Undoubtedly this was Gideon's route. He followed "the paths of the Bedawi" (Judges viii, 11), and somewhere along this route between Succoth and Jogbehah (Judges viii, 10, 11) must have stood the "tower," or fortress, of Penuel which he razed to the ground on his return from defeating the Midianites in revenge for its people's refusal of food and help (Judges viii, 8, 17).

The Arab and Roman ruins described point to continuous settlements in this plain from Roman to Crusading times. The Hebrew tombs on the hill-side and near Tell Subeiḥ indicate that the Israelites had settlements here prior to Maccabaean times. In all probability minute examination and excavation would discover traces of occupation from the very earliest times. The scrub with which it is covered, and continuous cultivation, made it impossible for me to find any potsherds.

Tell Subeiḥ is, I would suggest, a very likely position for the ancient Succoth. It is admirably located for self-defence, could easily be made a strong fort, and has a very powerful spring in the very heart of it. There is extensive grazing all round it, abundance of stone for building purposes, and I assume bulrushes could easily be procured from the bed of the Jabbok for the erection of booths for cattle. It commands the entrance from the west into the plain and the east country behind it. No enemy could have entered by that route very easily without the consent of its occupants. The men of Succoth could have done much to obstruct the progress of the Midianites eastward, especially if Succoth was situated at Tell Subeiḥ and the Midianites chose the route through the plain El-Ardah.

That Succoth was somewhere in this very vicinity is perhaps indicated by the fact that the name in its Arab form still clings to the district.

(*To be continued.*)

## THE DATE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERICHO.

By Prof. John Garstang, D.Sc., B.Litt., F.S.A.,
University of Liverpool.

There are several technical points raised by the Rev. W. J. Phythian-Adams in his discussion of this subject (*Q.S.*, January, 1927), which must appeal to all students of archaeology, particularly those who have had the opportunity of working in Palestine, and cannot be too strongly emphasized lest they should be lost to sight in the peculiar mist that enshrouds questions affecting early Biblical history.

While much has been done in recent years towards establishing a basis of chronology by potsherds, no precise dating is yet attained in regard to the common types of the Bronze Age. The whole of this culture period, which terminates visibly about 1200 B.C., is divided for convenience of reference (and for parallelism of method with other fields of research) into three phases, viz. the Early, Middle and Late. These three phases are distinguishable culturally from one another; the recently published *Bulletin* (No. 3) of the Palestine Museum illustrates this fact succinctly by the changes of Vase-types. Therein four plates are devoted to the Early Bronze Age and show crude pottery vessels, some with flat bottoms and elementary or "ledge" handles, as well as more finished vessels burnished and decorated with line patterns in reddish-brown or purplish paint. The two plates that illustrate the Middle Bronze Age indicate marked changes in form and handles, with a new tendency to the reproduction of metallic shapes. The last three plates show the Late Bronze Age to be distinguished by a noticeable development in both form and decorative tendencies, in particular by the infiltration of foreign wares with new shapes and technique. These vases were selected for illustration because they are admittedly characteristic of their respective culture phases in the Bronze Age, and have for the most part distinctive features. But they are not the common types. Though they are found freely in the chief sites of excavation, they form a small proportion only of the vast quantities of potsherds long regarded as nondescript. It is only now that the modern scientific excavator is learning to discriminate between these, by their associations with the established types, their technique and their stratification. They are, however, the objects which illustrate most particularly the local ceramic art, with all its changes, its conservatism and its eccentricities.

Now, though the three phases of the Bronze Age are distinguished in this and other ways, there is no chronological line between them. Pertaining, in fact, to a period which is locally prehistoric, it is not possible to assign to them any dates at all except by their relation to or with foreign work which can be dated independently. This process at once introduces a liability to error, which the conscientious archaeologist will endeavour to control. Objects imported may not be "deposited" until some time after they were made, or, again, comparison with objects abroad may show resemblances

which have no chronological relationship. It is recognized that buildings at Jericho and at Shechem have striking analogies in Hittite work of Asia Minor, but nothing can be inferred reliably from this as to authorship or date until and unless links be established by excavation in the intervening ground. It results that it is impossible to assign a reliable limit to the rise of the Bronze Age, and if the date of 2500 B.C. be accepted as a working hypothesis, it is liable to an error no smaller than 500 years. The beginning of the Middle Bronze Age is equally uncertain: Egyptian chronology fails to help, though relations are established, because the Hyksos period is involved, and though the "short date" for this is commencing to take root, it cannot yet be adopted with scientific confidence. The boundary between the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age, bordering as it does upon the XVIIIth Dynasty, when the activities of the Pharaohs begin to throw the light of history upon Palestine, would seem to be capable of approximation; but that light is uncertain before the age of Thotmes III (the early 15th century B.C.), and if a working hypothesis accepts 1600 B.C.–1200 B.C. as the limits of the Late Bronze Age, it is to be admitted that the earlier date is liable to an error of a hundred years or more.

Further complications are well known to the modern excavator. Vases and objects in Late Bronze Age deposits, though dated maybe in certain cases to the Tell El-Amarna period, are found to have a considerable range, which prevents that date being assigned to them in other cases. Further, a comparison of dated groups from Beisān, Megiddo and elsewhere suggests that development was local in some matters rather than general or collateral. In particular, the infiltration (and imitation) of foreign imports was not always uniform, but shows wide margin in certain places. The culture chart of one city was not necessarily that of its neighbour. Applying this result at once to the problem before us, it must not be assumed that archaeological criteria established at sites on the northern trade routes or the coast can be applied without reserve to the problems of inland Jericho.

Secondly, it is permissible to argue from personal experience of a life devoted to excavation, after the interruption which the War and consequent events have occasioned in the study of results, how unlikely it is that the minutiae of evidence derived from an excavation made 17 or 18 years ago can now be recovered in their totality for

the testing of a new theory based on new criteria. Any conclusion based on incomplete data must be insecure. The personal equation also is a factor in all excavations, for each excavator has his special lines of thought and interest; its coefficient must be greater at this interval of time. It is no derogation to the value of the work done at Jericho in 1907-9 by Doctors Sellin and Watzinger or of their publication in 1913 to say that an attempt to revise the results on any but the broadest lines in the light of new criteria must raise doubts and questions that cannot be answered without further excavation.

To take a single illustration. On Plate 21 of their volume, *Jericho*, there is figured a fragment of pottery G 2 of a special type. It came from the "Israelitish" (red) layer in the north of the area (p. 124). This class of pottery is now well known (*Palestine Museum Bulletin*, No. 3, Pl. VII, Fig. 5). It filters into Palestine during the Late Bronze Age, together with other vases (the "Bilbil" group) with which it is associated also in Cyprus (*J.H.S.*, XVII, 1897, pp. 150, 151, Figs. 7. 8), where also it appears to be foreign. It does not seem to appear in Egypt, but the vases associated with it occur as early as the time of Thotmes III. It is found in Palestine as early as the deposits of the Amarna period. So far, then, as it appears to be known, it makes its appearance in the coastal areas and Esdraelon during the 14th century B.C. At what time did it appear in Jericho? In what relation was it found to the walls of the "red" city? Did it underlie the masonry? Was it found upon the floor of a room? Did it lie in a superficial deposit of the period when the mound was almost deserted? Can these vital questions be answered now? For the pottery in question marks a cultural epoch and suggests commercial relations; and this fragment is only one of the many that must now form the subject of a searching cross-examination.

To sum up, it would appear that while the revision of terminology and main periods follows naturally upon the new results, and is on these broad lines obviously correct, it is not possible to assign any date to the destruction of the "red" city that would not be liable to an error of a century or maybe two centuries. That city flourished in the Middle Bronze Age and perished somewhere about its close by a sudden catastrophe. It did not fade away with the Middle Bronze Age, but was destroyed shortly before or shortly

afterwards. In view of what has been said at the beginning, it is not possible to date precisely anywhere in Palestine the end of the Middle Bronze Age, much less in Jericho. It cannot be said whether the Middle Bronze Age culture continued longer in that area or disappeared earlier. Nor is it clear what interval of time is to be allowed between that epoch and the destruction of the city. The Late Bronze Age fragment and kindred problems must be borne in mind. If we take as a central approximation the date of 1550 B.C., as has been proposed, we must admit a liability to error on archaeological grounds of not less than 150 years. In this connexion it is significant, as Thomsen has reminded us (art., "Jericho," in *Real-lexikon*, p. 156), that the place does not appear to have had sufficient military or political importance in the middle of the 14th century B.C. to gain mention in the Amarna letters, and this would seem accordant with a theory of its destruction prior to that date. The general conclusion to be derived from these considerations is that probably the "red" city of Jericho was destroyed somewhere between 1100 B.C. and 1400 B.C., with a liability to error of 50 years on either side.

Lastly, as to the date of the destruction of the city by Joshua. This problem has been complicated unnecessarily by the Merenptah theory of the Exodus, which modern criticism has shown to have only a flimsy foundation and may be dismissed. Unfortunately, this theory has taken root and is difficult to deracinate. But, in fact, we are left with no other than the Biblical sources upon which to base a calculation, and these show a big margin of discrepancy. It will be found, however, that the result overlaps substantially at one limit the possible date of the observed destruction of the city, and in view of the general agreement between the circumstances noted by the excavators and the Israelitish tradition, it is useless to complicate the issue by introducing a new theory of an independent catastrophe. History will demand less theory and more research, greater precision of method, and a commonsense, albeit logical, interpretation of results.

# ABOUT THE INSCRIPTION OF JUDAN BEN ISHMAEL.

By Dr. A. Marmorstein.

The very interesting new find published in the *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1927, p. 51, requires a few remarks by a student of Rabbinic Literature. Judan ben Ishmael occurs a few times in the Talmud and Midrash. It is daring to identify the scribe of the 3rd century with the generous person of the same name in the inscription, but there is nothing against such a suggestion. The omission of the title does not weigh much, since we have no further details about Judan's qualifications. (*See* Z. Frankel, *Mebo ha Jerushalmi*, 95 B; W. Bacher, *Agada der Palästinenischen Amoräer*, III, p. 603 *sq.*, and Hyman, *Toledoth Tannaim we-Amoraim*, II, p. 563). He was, no doubt, a Palestinian scholar.

More serious is the text and the interpretation of the same. Mr. Ory supplies what seems to me an impossible text, and a less probable translation. He reads:

1 דכיר לטב יודן בר ישמע[א]ל
2 דעבר הדן סטוה
3 ודרג ותמ[ם] פעלה. יהי
4 לה חולק עם צדיקים

I suggest the following reading in line 3:

ורגות מפעלה יהי

Judan made a סטוה. The ו and י often change. The word is used in the sense of portico, or floor. Here the second meaning is more likely. He further supplied the place with דרגות steps leading to the καθέδρα or to the ark. Judan made therefore סטוה and דרגות. The reading, ותמם פעלה, and translation, "and completed the work," gives no sense, neither in the original nor in the translation. But the phrase is familiar

to students of rabbinic texts. We quote only *Agadath Shir ha-Shirim* (ed. S. Schechter, Cambridge, 1896), p. 20, l. 533. ומה הוא שכרו לעולם הבא ? חלקו עם אברהם יצחק ויעקב. "And what is his reward in the world to come? His portion will be with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (*see* also p. 63). R. Jose ben Qisma says to R. Haninah b. Taradyon, ניחלקך יהי חלקי ומגורלך יהי גורלי. "I wish I had my portion with yours, and my lot with yours" (*Ab. Zara*, 18A. *see* Marmorstein, *The Doctrine of Merits*, p. 48).

Another term for the same idea is used by R. Abbahu. יושב עם האבות, "sitting with the fathers" (*see* Marmorstein, *l.c.*, p. 191). Similar phrases occur in other sayings like אתה נתון בחיקם של צדיקים (*Semahot* ch. VIII). "Thou art placed in the bosom of the righteous." It is doubtful whether the phrase יושב בחיקו של אברהם (*C. Kid*, 72 *ab*), "He is sitting in the bosom of Abraham" belongs to the same group; some take it in this sense. (*See* further, Luke xvi. 19; *Testament of Abraham* (ed. James), p. 72; Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, VI, 127; *R.E.J.*, liv, 138.) In *Apostol. Const.*, viii, 41, we read in the funeral service the very interesting passage: "Give him his lot in the land of the pious that are sent into the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." We may further refer to a saying coming from the School of R. Jose: "Why is לולא, in Ps. xxvii, 13, furnished with points? David said before God, I am sure that Thou wilt pay a good reward to the righteous in the future, but I do not know whether I will have a share among them, or not."[1]

It would not be fair to analyse and treat here all the passages in Talmud and Midrash bearing on our subject, and especially to enumerate all the legends and stories based on this theological doctrine. Sufficient to say that the donor, or his successors, wished that Judan ben Ishmael should have a share with the pious in future life for his gifts given to the synagogue. That makes the words of the inscription quite clear.

London,
*7th February*, 1927.

[1] מובטח אני בך שאתה משלם שכר טוב לצדיקים לעתיד לבוא אבל איני יודע אם יש לי חלק ביניהם (B. Ber., 4a; *v. also* Esther rabba chap. 3).

# GLEANINGS IN SEMITIC EPIGRAPHY.

By Hartwig Hirschfeld, Ph.D.

1. *Tabnith Inscription* (*see* G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions No.* 4). Line 4. אדלן has so far baffled all attempts at explanation. I should like to suggest reading אֶדְלֶנָ, Hebrew אצלנן, with the ד spoken similarly to Arabic ض. "With us" would give a tolerable sense.

2. *Eshmūnâzar* (*Corp. Inscr. Semit.* I, 3; Cooke, No. 5). Even a superficial examination will reveal the fact that in the middle of line 13 there is a gap of the width of one letter. It seems to me that the inscription originally ended there, and was repeated round the neck of the sarcophagus, probably on account of its importance. I am unable to share Lidzbarski's opinion (*Altsemitische Texte*, p. 16) that the latter text was the earlier one, but remained uncompleted on account of errors, and repeated more fully on the lid. I believe that the second part was added later on, and supplemented by the information concerning the dead king's family relation and his great buildings and great deeds.

The group of letters in line 3, נגזלת בלעתי בן מסכים מאזרם, has led to various readings, none of which has so far avowedly been considered satisfactory. I therefore herewith offer another, viz.: נְגְזַלְתִּ בְּלַעְתִּי בֵּן מְסַכִּים מְאֻזָּרִם. *I was snatched away* [*and*] *covered between two covers holding* [*me*] *tight*. As to בלעתי in the sense of *packing up*, see כבלע (Num. iv, 20),[1] while מסכים would offer an instance of dual not otherwise recorded in Phoenician. The missing י, *yod*, in נגזלת offers no difficulty.

Line 4. קבמי has given rise to various suggestions (*see* Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, p. 163 *sq.*). The grouping קב מי preferred by Praetorius (*Z.D.M.G.*, LVIII, p. 193) has much to recommend itself, but קב remains perplexing. Is it possible to read קִנְּ, "my nest"? This would render the expression rather poetic, but just this is the case with נגזלת. Eshmūnâzar seems to have

[1] The translation *not for one moment* does not meet the case on account of את הקדש.

died in early youth, otherwise he would hardly have described himself as an *orphan, son of a widow*. The account then following of his various achievements is due to the glorifying tendencies of the persons who caused the inscription to be cut, while the repetition of קנני (line 20), etc., is probably nothing more than mechanical and serving to fill an empty space.

Line 16. וישרנ, which Lidzbarski (*ibid.*, p. 18) takes as a mistake for וישבנ, is probably a technical term for making an *ashērah*. The form is most likely *pi'el*, while the *i* sound is rendered by י.

3. *C.I.S.* I, 4, line 3 (Cooke, No. 6), בבנ. The separation of this group into two words adopted by *C.I.S.* and all interpreters seems unnecessary. The root בבן is used in the *Mishnāh Sabbath*, II, 5, in the meaning of *enclosing*. I suggest translating the passage: *he fenced off* a piece of land [in honour] of Astarte.

4. *C.I.S.* 86 B, line 10 (Cooke, No. 25), לכלבם, *scortis virilibus*, literally *dogs*, but, following the *Corpus*, generally applied to male prostitutes, which is rather far-fetched. I suggest reading לְכַלְבֵּם, *dog-keepers*, since only human beings are spoken of (*cf.* the Arabic and Syriac *kallāb*). The existence of temple-dogs follows by implication. In this connexion I should like to mention that the word כלביא in the Papyrus of Assuan (ed. Sachau; Cowley, No. 30), line 16, is not a vilifying name, as generally assumed, but the passage should be translated thus: . . . *as to* Wdrng, *dog-keepers removed the fetters from his feet*. It would seem that *Wdrng* was cast in irons, executed or left to die, and then handed over to the dog-keepers, the lowest caste of humanity in Jeb. Similarly I do not believe that לחיא[1] (line 7) is a bad epithet, but a physical characteristic, viz. "the man with the [large] jaw" (*cf.* the Arabic *al-jāḥiz*), because it is not likely that the writers would have used such rude expressions in an official petition to the king's lieutenant.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

*Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, Beyrouth (Grand Liban), Tome X. Fasc. 6. *Quelques Stations Préhistoriques de Palestine ;* by P. Alexis Mallon, S.J.

Father Mallon, accompanied by Father Bovier-Lapierre, explored a number of Palestinian Stone-Age sites in 1921 and 1922. He has now written a valuable little monograph giving a brief account of the industries from these various sites. The paper is admirably conceived, and there is a short but efficient bibliography, as well as a complete list of all the Stone-Age sites so far discovered in the country.

Several Palaeolithic stations around Jerusalem are firstly described. The implements found include :—coups de poing, discs, scrapers, awls and burins, etc. The industries are therefore in all probability mixed, and belong to several Palaeolithic cultures of different dates. Then follows an account of various sites near Naplouse, and these in turn are followed by a description of some interesting discoveries near Nazareth. The cultures of most of these stations seem to be also Palaeolithic.

A number of sites, however, have yielded later industries which Father Mallon rightly describes as Mesolithic in culture. The most important of these is at Tantoûr, a small hill to the south-east of Bethlehem. The industries appear to be similar in some respects to our Campignian, small chipped picks and chisels occurring, but pottery and a polishing technique being absent. A few small sickles, however, have been found as well as some small rough arrow-heads. This culture appears to be very rich in Palestine, and, in fact, probably has a wider geographical range. Implements similar to the flat, broad, convex-edged, chipped chisels found at Tantoûr occur as far away as the oasis of Siwa, west of the Nile.

A number of finds, mostly Neolithic, are next described. From a site west of the village of Artâs, and from the dunes of Ramleh, Jaffa, etc., rich industries have been procured, including polished celts. A brief account of a Copper-Age site called Sahl Ed-Drâ'a completes the list.

The paper closes with short résumés in which the results are arranged alphabetically according to sites, and chronologically according to cultures. There is also a short appendix on a megalithic find south of the convent of Mâr Eliâs, on the route to Bethlehem.

The only weak point in the paper is the plates. These are made from photographs and are not very legible. It is a very great pity that they were not reproduced from drawings in pen and ink: reproductions from photographs of stone implements are never very satisfactory, unless superlatively well done on first-class paper.

The author is to be congratulated on the results of his original work, and on producing so clearly and succinctly a sketch of the Stone Ages in Palestine, as far as they are at present known.

M. C. Burkitt.

*Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem*, 1923–25, by Professor R. A. S. Macalister, Litt.D., LL.D., F.S.A., and the Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., F.S.A.(Scot.). Pp. xvi + 216. (P.E.F., 1926.)

This splendid volume, with numerous figures and maps and twenty-six admirable plates, describes the chief results of the joint expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund and *The Daily Telegraph* during the years 1923–25. The site excavated consisted of five fields on the hill east of the Tyropoeon valley, the most northerly of which lies about 220 yards south of the Haram wall.

The oldest remains on a bare surface of rock indicate that at about 2000 B.C. (p. 34) a city, Jebusite or pre-Jebusite, had as its defence upon the north a trench some 8 feet in depth and from 10 to 12 feet in breadth, itself a continuation of a depression running in from the Tyropoeon valley. Prof. Macalister names this the Zedek valley and suggests that it may have been linked by the trench above mentioned to a shorter valley in the Kidron side of the crest.

Potsherds found in the trench seem to show that it had ceased to be of defensive value by the middle of the second millennium B.C. (p. 36).

After the trench had gone out of use and been filled up, a city wall was built. The portion of this wall which was actually found, enclosed, is, apparently, an extension of the city. Its relation to the trench and to the wall next to be mentioned is puzzling. This next wall

is more important and can be traced much further. Of the section of it on the north, running approximately east and west, only fragments remain. They are curiously situated on what seems to be the wrong side of a scarp of rock, and show that the wall must have been constructed of large blocks of stone and at least 15 or 20 feet thick. At the eastern end of the wall where it must have turned south it had apparently been breached, and a pile of stones "afforded a most graphic picture of the grim destructiveness of ancient warfare" (p. 46, Figs. 43 and 44).

Prof. Macalister is of opinion that this was the wall of the Jebusites at the time of David's assault on their citadel, and that the strength of it may have inspired the taunt that "the blind and the lame" would keep him out (II Sam. v, 6). It appears to be the eastern wall of the same Jebusite fortress that has been discovered by Duncan, together with an outer and later wall, on the eastern edges of the fields excavated.

Here was discovered some finer masonry, similar to that which was unearthed at Megiddo and Gezer and there assigned by the excavators to Solomon. Accordingly the authors connect this work (p. 57) with the repairs carried out by Solomon at Millo, Gezer, Megiddo, and the city of David, his father (I Kings ix, 15, 24: xi, 27; II Chron. xxxii, 5).

A good picture of the masonry is given in Fig. 47 (E–E). Below it other masonry, different both from it and from the Jebusite masonry, the authors assign to the time of David, "a date confirmed by the pottery found in the face of the tower and below the level of the foundations."

Prof. Macalister, accordingly, interprets II Sam. v, 9, "David built round about from Millo and inward," to mean that David built from the place where Millo was standing at the time of the historian (p. 83). It was Solomon who actually built Millo (I Kings, xi, 27). The work of David is identified (p. 82) with the remains of a straight wall running from east to west, and a clear idea of the appearance of it is given in Fig. 70. Millo itself, in this view, was a tower erected by Solomon where the breach had been made by David, and Millo, "filling," is an appropriate name for it (p. 83). On one of the stones of this tower Mr. Garrow Duncan discovered a painted figure which he and Prof. Macalister took (Fig. 75) to be a very crude representation of a goddess.

The outer and later wall which has been mentioned above must belong, we are told, to the period of the kings, and on the top of it is work of the Maccabaean period (p. 74).

Of domestic buildings discovered by the excavators the two most clearly defined appear to be a Herodian house with pillars and pavements of flat slabs and small tesserae; and a house of the Roman period, entered through an archway, consisting of four chambers grouped about a vestibule (p. 107). One of these chambers was floored with a mosaic in absolutely perfect condition (Plate ix, No. 2). A drain-tile underneath this pavement bore a potter's stamp with the inscription ενσεβιου (Fig. 98).

The last chapter of the book is taken up with a description of the various objects found. Most of them are, of course, fragmentary, but some are of considerable interest.

Among these may be mentioned the portable sun-dial (Figs. 144, 145), the stone lamp (Fig. 151), the stone weight (Fig. 153), the limestone plaque bearing the upper part of a figure with a peculiar Egyptian-like headdress (Fig. 156), the tile with the stamp of the Tenth Legion (Fig. 171), the conical jug of the Second Bronze Period (complete, Fig. 189), the interesting rosette modelling (Plate XX, Fig. 2), the little bowl (Fig. 200) with its pleasant suggestion of classical influence, and, above all, the sherd (of the 7th century B.C. ?) which had been used for the writing of a note in pre-Exilic Hebrew (Fig. 193). Some stamps with inscriptions in Hebrew letters (pp. 189 ff.) and a large number of handles of Rhodian wine-jars with Greek inscriptions are also worthy of note.

The whole volume is an excellent illustration of the way in which the very difficult problems of excavation should be treated. Prof. Macalister and Mr. Duncan give us in the first place very careful and accurate records of what they actually found and of the exact position where it lay. This in itself requires a thorough archaeological training, for the work must be carried out with scientific precision.

The investigators then go on to interpret the evidence which they have brought to light. Much of this interpretation is necessarily tentative and awaits the confirmation which can be obtained only by further excavation. In the meanwhile the reader follows with ever-growing interest till, when he lays the volume down, his curiosity is thoroughly aroused.

It must be confessed that some of the results attained are very puzzling.

If, for example, the Zedek valley was a sufficiently marked depression for early settlers upon the area south of it to utilize it as a defence and to connect it by a trench to a small depression opening into the Kidron valley on the other side of the Ophel ridge, why was this physical feature ignored in subsequent times? The next wall, according to Prof. Macalister's reconstruction, comes out almost at right angles to the trench. Even if we may suppose that this wall encloses an extension of the city (p. 37), such an extension, as Prof. Macalister himself admits, is surely very odd. The trench itself too is rather strange, stretching as it does for about 50 feet and then stopping abruptly at both ends. One cannot help wondering whether the valley had not already been silted up before the trench was dug, and whether the exact purpose of the latter is still to seek.

Again, if the North wall of the Jebusite city ran, roughly speaking, along scarp A, what is its relation to the Ophel wall, followed by Sir Charles Warren, 1867–70, for 700 feet south-west from the Ḥaram wall? For this Ophel wall is marked in the plan as resting upon a Jebusite foundation.

Sir Charles himself calculated that it originally went on to a knoll about 200 feet still further south-west, which would actually bring it to scarp A.[1] He assigned the rough rubble and rocky scarps (the older part of the rampart) to the time of Nehemiah.[2]

What is the evidence for a Jebusite foundation underneath? And if there is such a Jebusite foundation here, what is its relation to the city described by Prof. Macalister as existing in the time of David? One more question: What is the exact size of the stone (Fig. 74) on which the painted figure was found? Mr. Chalil Raad's photograph of this stone is most illuminating, and it is happily placed on p. 86 opposite to the suggested restoration of the figure on p. 87. As far as one can judge, the line which is taken in the restored figure to be the right arm of the goddess turns upwards, and goes round in a circle to rejoin the "head," as well as downwards; and if this upward sweep is taken into account as well as the lower, the figure loses its human resemblance and becomes comparable with curious painted marks discovered by Sir Charles Warren on

[1] C. Warren, *Survey of Western Palestine* (P.E.F., 1884), p. 229.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

stones in the Haram wall.[1] But whether the comparison is close or not depends on the dimensions of the new discovery, and these do not appear to be given in the present volume.

But enough of such details. No one who has the least interest in the past can lay this volume down without desiring to express sincere gratitude to the subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund and to Lord Burnham and the Proprietors of *The Daily Telegraph* for making possible, and to Prof. Macalister, Mr. Garrow Duncan, and their assistants, for carrying out, the investigations which have produced this very valuable record; and without hoping that such work may be continued on a larger scale.

Until quite recently it was probably better that archaeological remains should be left in comparative safety underground than that they should be exposed to the dangers inevitably attendant upon the efforts of the inefficiently equipped excavator. Archaeological knowledge was purchased at too great a cost of irreplaceable material. But the science of the subject is now sufficiently advanced for these dangers to be reduced to a minimum; and when, as in the present instance, the practical work is put under the supervision of a thoroughly experienced director like Prof. Macalister, who is provided with competent assistance, the results are clear gain.

J. W. Hunkin.

[1] They appear in the plates attached to the *Survey of Western Palestine* (pls. xxi, xxii, xxiii).

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*The Site of Hazor.*—At the December meeting of the Palestine Oriental Society, Prof. J. Garstang announced the discovery in the Huleh basin of a large permanent camp, about 1,000 metres in length and 400 metres across, enclosed by huge ramparts, partly due to nature, some 40 metres high. He found it about 3½ miles west of the outlet of the Huleh Lake, where is a ford on the old road to Damascus, and at the junction of that road with the main road northwards from Palestine to Sidon (at k. 207). It is comparable in size and character with that of Misrifeh, near Homs, but occupies a stronger and more strategic position. There were abundant traces of occupation throughout the three phases of the Bronze Age, the Late Bronze preponderating: while the acropolis (which attains the imposing height of 55 metres) seems to have been reoccupied in the Early Iron Age (soon after 1200 B.C.). The site identifies itself in character and situation with Hazor. A detailed illustrated account is announced for the current number of the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (University of Liverpool).

## TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS

### HEBREW.

| Hebrew. | English. | Hebrew. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|
| א | ’ | כ ך | kh |
| ב | b | ל | l |
| ב | bh | מ ם | m |
| ג | g | נ ן | n |
| ג | gh | ס | s |
| ד | d | ע | ‘ |
| ד | dh | פ ף | p |
| ה | h | פ ף | f |
| ו | v, w | צ ץ | z |
| ז | z | ק | k |
| ח | h | ר | r |
| ט | t | ש | sh |
| י | y | ש | s |
| כ | k | ת | t |
| | | ת | th |

### ARABIC.

| Arabic. | English. | | Arabic. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ا | ’ | | ض | d |
| ب | b | | ط | t |
| ت | t | | ظ | tz |
| ث | th | | ع | ‘ |
| ج | g | or j in Syrian Arabic. | غ | gh |
| ح | h | | ف | f |
| خ | kh | | ق | k |
| د | d | | ك | k |
| ذ | dh | | ل | l |
| ر | r | | م | m |
| ز | z | | ن | n |
| س | s | | ه | h |
| ش | sh | | و | w |
| ص | z | | ي | y |

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

The Sixty-second Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held on Thursday, June 30, at Burlington House, Dr. H. R. Hall, the Chairman of the Committee, presiding. The Hon. Secretary gave a *résumé*, illustrated with photographic slides, of the Report on Excavations at Ophel received from Mr. Crowfoot. This Report, a supplementary one, will be found below on pp. 143 *sqq.* Professor Sir Flinders Petrie then gave a detailed and interesting description of his excavations at Tell Jemmeh, the ancient Gerar—also illustrated with slides. We are glad to be able to publish a full account of his discoveries, some details of which have appeared in the public press, which will be especially welcome to those who have visited his exhibition at University College. To both these reports we refer our readers for further information.

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A proposal is now being considered by the Executive Committee to alter the size and general appearance of the *Quarterly Statement*. It is suggested that a quarto form, like the British School at Athens, would be a great improvement. This would bring our Journal more into line with modern ideas of what an archaeological publication should look like, and especially would provide better space for illustrations, plans and maps. The Committee invite the opinion of subscribers on this question.

Of recent discoveries at Jerusalem, one is due to the work conducted jointly by the Hebrew University and the Jewish Exploration Society, at the Third Wall. According to Reuter's report, the excavations revealed a section of the Wall composed of two courses of large dressed blocks of stone. This section was much better preserved than any hitherto disclosed by the excavations. Its lower course consisted of beautifully dressed stones similar to those used in the Western Temple Wall, while the upper course was composed of great undressed blocks. It has been assumed that the lower row of stones dates from the reign of King Agrippa, who constructed the Wall, while the upper row was added during the war against the Romans. The remains of another tower have also been discovered close to the Wall. One of the stone balls shot out of catapults by the Romans during their siege of Jerusalem was discovered during the excavations.

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Further, *The Times* correspondent (June 1) reported that two rock tombs, one quite untouched, were discovered in the grounds of St. George's Cathedral during the excavations for the foundations of a pilgrim hostel. The tombs are of the late Roman period and closely adjoin what are known as the "Tombs of the Kings." Both contain human bones, and in one a glass phial and a gold earring were found. In a letter to *The Times* (June 3), Miss Estelle Blyth observes that when her father, Bishop Blyth, was building the Clergy House and Hospice rooms for student and travelling clergy in that part, he had three times to turn the direction of the cistern (always made first in Palestine) on account of the rock-cut tombs laid bare by the workmen. "In one tomb was a beautiful coloured fresco (Greco-Roman) which was copied and described by Professor A. C. Dickie, of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in the *Quarterly Statement* of that Society. As the colours, most clear and fresh when found, began to fade on exposure to the air, this tomb was covered over again, its site being noted. Amongst other interesting finds at St. George's were the tombstone of Felix, a Tribune of the Tenth Legion under Titus, a leaden coffin containing bones (cloisters, south side), and near the outhouses (south of Bishop's house) a large tomb containing skeletons of two adults and a child. Traces of broken or long-rifled tombs were constantly

found by the workmen, and wherever possible my father had the bones carefully collected and laid under the present chancel of St. George's Church." Miss Blyth, as most of our readers are now aware, has written a most interesting book of her life in Jerusalem, and a notice of it appears in the present issue (p. 166 below).

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We are asked to draw the attention of readers to the forthcoming XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists. At the concluding meeting of the XVIth International Congress of Orientalists, held in Athens in 1912, it was agreed that the next Congress should be held in Oxford. Having obtained the assent of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and the approval of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the leading Oriental Societies in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, and in America, the members of the Oriental Faculty of Oxford University are making arrangements for holding the XVIIth Congress there during the week beginning Monday, August 27, 1928. Coming after so long an interval, it is hoped that the XVIIth Congress may be notable not only for its truly international character, and the number of its participants, but also for the importance and originality of the communications made to it. The Secretary, Mr. C. N. Seddon (Indian Institute, Oxford), states that the Oriental Faculty of Oxford University would be grateful for an assurance of public support, and for any publicity which the Society can give to the proposals now made. The fee qualifying for full membership is one pound sterling, and members may obtain tickets for persons belonging to their families at half that amount. Such persons will be entitled to all the privileges of membership, except a copy of the Proceedings, to which only full members will be entitled. Subscriptions should be sent to the Treasurer, International Congress of Orientalists (G. R. Driver, Esq., M.C., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford). Nine sections have been provisionally constituted (General, Assyriology, Egypt and Africa, Central and Northern Asia, the Far East, India and Irak, the Old Testament, Islam, Oriental Art), and members of the Congress are invited to contribute papers. Titles of papers offered should be sent so as to reach the Secretary (to whom all inquiries, other than application for membership, should be sent) by March 1, 1928.

It is also announced that the Sixth International Congress of History (*Sciences Historiques*) will be held at Oslo, August 14–18, 1928, under the patronage of H.M. The King of Norway. The *Bureau du Comité international* and the *Comité Organisateur norvégien* have sent out an invitation to the academies, Universities, and other learned bodies to send representatives. The Congress will be divided into fifteen sections, ranging over ancient, mediaeval and modern history, the history of science and letters, of art, economic and social history, historical method, the teaching of history, etc. Correspondence relating to the Congress can be addressed to Historikerkongressen 1928, Drammensveien 78, Oslo.

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Attention is drawn to an arrangement referred to by Sir Flinders Petrie on p. 140 whereby Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt dealing with that Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

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Among the books received are *Flowers of the Holy Land*, by Miss K. M. Reynolds. In the form of two little booklets (price 2*s.* each), containing reproductions in colour from drawings by the writer, and accompanied by useful notes, they form an attractive contribution to the study of the botany of Palestine. They may be obtained from Miss K. M. Reynolds, 8, Darnley Road, Notting Hill, W.11.

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**The office of the P.E.F. will be closed during the month of August, re-opening on Thursday, September 1. Letters posted to the office will be collected weekly, but matters of special urgency may be addressed to Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, St. Giles's Hospital, Camberwell, S.E.5.**

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**Subscribers in the United States** are asked to kindly note that subscriptions should be forwarded to the Hon. General Secretary, Prof. W. M. Randall, of 55, Elizabeth Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

*Antiques for Sale.*—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates, including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar handles, etc., are on sale.

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The Committee are glad to report that the *Annual*, 1923-5, on the Ophel Excavations has been published and is now on sale. The price is £2 2*s*. to non-subscribers.

The account is by the excavators, Prof. Macalister, Litt.D., and the Rev. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., and consists of four chapters on the Narrative, the Rock Surface, Rock-cuttings and Constructions and Miscellaneous Finds, with an Appendix on Greek Inscriptions stamped upon Jar-handles (pp. 1–212). There are two important maps, an air-photograph of Mount Ophel, 26 plates and 217 illustrations. The maps, which were prepared under the supervision of Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.S., the Fund's Honorary Treasurer, show the results of all the excavations made upon the Ophel ridge during the last sixty years.

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An announcement of the reprint of Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land,* was made in the January *Quarterly Statement.* It is now on sale at 4*s*. bound in cloth, and 2*s*. 6*d*. in paper covers.

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The new plan of Jerusalem, on a scale of approximately 1 : 5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5*s*. Mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9*s*. The latter form is the more convenient, as, owing to its size, the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

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The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 119 *sq.*

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The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

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It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

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The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contribution towards the Ophel excavations from:—

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sir Charles Marston ... ... ... | 500 | 0 | 0 |

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A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m. (*see* notice on p. 116).

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Hartford College, Conn., U.S.A.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

*The Near East and India*, April 28 : Nouri Pasha's introduction to the Arabic version of Lawrence's *Revolt in the Desert*, May 5 : Palestine and Jewry ; May 19 : The Lost Lands of Ophir, by Commander Craufurd.

*Annals of Art and Archaeology*, xiv, 1–2 ; the site of Hazor, by Prof. Garstang.

*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lv, 1925 : Early Nilotic, Libyan and Egyptian relations with Minoan Crete, by Sir Arthur Evans ; lvi, 1926, a comparison of drawings from Ancient Egypt, Libya and the South Spanish Caves, by E. S. Thomas.

*The Expository Times*, June : The "Chaldaeans" in the Book of Daniel, by Rev. H. H. Rowley.

*The British Museum Quarterly*, i, 4 : A Syro-Hittite cylinder, seal, etc.

*New Judaea*, March 18 : The irrigation problem in Palestine, by C. A. Henriques.

*Culture of the Babylonians*, 2 vols, £3 3*s*., and *Royal Inscriptions from Nippur and Babylon*, £1 1*s*., by Leon Legrain, University Museum, Philadelphia. (Quaritch, Ltd.)

*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, February.

*The Museum Journal, Philadelphia*, March : Discoveries at Beth-Shan during the 1926 season, by Alan Rowe.

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xlvii : A Phoenician alphabet from Sumatra, by E. E. W. G. Schröder.

*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1927 : The history of the Jews in Basra, by D. S. Sassoon.

*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, January, 1927 : Hair offerings, by H. H. Gowen ; Psalm xix, R. Eisler ; Bibliography of Studies on Hebrew religion, 1918–24, by J. A. Maynard.

*The Geographical Review*, April, 1927 : North Arabia : the explorations of Alois Musil, by J. K. Wright.

*Homiletic Review.*

*Report of the United States National Museums*, 1926.

*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, February : The Carnarvon Egyptian Collection (illustrated).

*École Française d'Athenes.*

*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1925: Excavations at Teos, Notion, etc.; Chronicle of excavations and archaeological discoveries in the Hellenic Orient.

*Syria: Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, viii, 1: Preliminary report on the Czecho-Slovak excavations at Kultepe, 1925, by Dr. Hrozný; the ruins of El-Mishrifeh, by Count du Mesnil du Buisson; Ancient Aleppo, by Father Dhorme; Hittite Tells in N. Syria, by Louis Speleers, etc.

*Revue Biblique*, April: Greek inscriptions at Gerasa, by Father Abel; excavations at Nerab, September–November, 1926, by Father Barrois; review of Steuernagel's *Adschlun*, by Father Abel, etc.

*Biblica*, viii, 2: Agricultural notes from the Lake Gennesaret district, by P. Sonnen; notes by Alexis Mallon on a journey to the Negeb, and upon some flints; fragmentary Greek inscription from el-Aujeh (= Alt, *Griech. Inschr.*, p. 43, No. 141), by R. Mouterde.

*Grundzüge der Ägypt. Vorgeschichte*, by Alex Scharff. (1 map, 16 plates and 111 illustrations.) Hinrichs, Leipzig, 4.20m.

*Göttingsche Gelehrte Anzeigen*, January–February: P. Schnabel on Theo. Bauer's *Die Ostkanaanäer*.

*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. Gruyter & Co., Berlin: articles on Palestine, etc., by Peter Thomsen.

*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.

*Der 'Adschlun*, by Prof. Steuernagel. (The completion, containing Preface, Indexes, etc.) Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1927.

*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins*, l. i. The personal names in the Taanach tablets, by A. Gustavs; Palest. musical instruments, by Sachsse; the isthmus of Suez, by H. Guthe.

*Das Land der Bibel*, iv, 5–6: The geographical conditions of Syria and Palestine after William of Tyre, parts I and II, by Hermann Propst.

*Die Bodenbildung in Süd. Pal. in ihrer Beziehung z. d. klimat. Faktoren des Landes*, by Adolf Reifenberg, Jerusalem. Extract from *Chemie der Erde*, vol. iii, Jena, 1927.

*Palestine Department of Agriculture and Forests:* Comparative statements of rainfall and weather reports.

*Palestine Museum, Jerusalem*: Bulletin No. 3. Selected types of Bronze Age Pottery, with drawings, by Miss G. R. Levy.

*Bible Lands*, April: The Third Wall of Jerusalem; the late General Sir Charles Warren, etc.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

*Al-Mashrik*, April: Economic state of Roman Syria, by René Mouterde.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

*The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.*

*The Quarterly Statement*, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

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## Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

## PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.
## SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Sixty-second Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.1, on Thursday, June 30, 1927, when H. R. Hall, Esq., D.Litt., F.S.A., F.B.A., Chairman of the Committee, presided. Prof. Sir Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., gave some account, illustrated by lantern slides, of his recent excavations at Tell Jemmeh, the ancient Gerar, on the southern borders of Palestine, and the Hon. Secretary gave a Summary of the Reports received from Mr. J. W. Crowfoot on the resumed excavations at Ophel.

The Hon. Secretary (Dr. E. W. G. Masterman) announced that apologies for absence had been received from Lord Allenby, Sir Herbert Samuel, Prof. Macalister, Rev. Dr. Ewing, and Sir Charles Close. The Minutes of the Sixty-first Annual General Meeting held on June 9, 1926, were then read, confirmed and signed by the Chairman.

The Hon. Secretary reported that 25 Subscribers had qualified for full Membership since the last Meeting, and read the names. He proceeded to say that in spite of the fact that a memoir on General Sir Charles Warren, an old and very distinguished member of the Society, had appeared in the *Quarterly Statement*, it was impossible to let that occasion pass without deploring the loss the Fund had suffered. He recalled the fact that Sir Charles had been the first to excavate on the scene of present operations, and that his interest in the work of excavation in Palestine lasted his whole life; in fact, within quite a short time of his death, he had written expressing interest in the excavations at Ophel. No member had had so long and distinguished a connexion with the Society.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Dr. Masterman, it was unanimously agreed that Lt.-Gen. Sir George Macdonogh, G.B.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., should be elected to the General Committee.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts, said that after a good deal of discussion with regard to the various sites the Fund should excavate during the coming season, it had finally been decided to proceed with the work at Ophel, towards which Sir Charles Marston had already most generously given a contribution of £500. (Applause.) Sir Charles had already helped the Fund most generously in the work at Ophel, and the Society was glad to have his further collaboration. Already quite encouraging reports had been received from Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, who was now excavating at Ophel on behalf of the Fund, and it was hoped that results of considerable historical interest would be obtained relating to the various periods of the ancient and long history of Jerusalem. Naturally, one came first upon the results of the later date, and what had been discovered up to the present had been of the Byzantine period. But Byzantine Jerusalem was of extraordinary interest, and the Society was glad of an opportunity of adding to its knowledge in that connection. Many other sites remained, no doubt, for the Fund to excavate. Those interested in tracing the extraordinarily interesting history of the wandering race of the Philistines, how they came from Greece and Asia Minor to Palestine in the time of King Rameses III, and after their defeat by the Egyptians on the borders of Egypt settled down in Palestine to rule—an entirely alien and, so to speak, European race—over the Asiatics, those specially interested in the further discovery of Palestinian archaeology must wait, perhaps for a year or two, before a return was made to the sites of the Shephelah. At present Jerusalem claimed the interest of the Fund, and as they had received special grants, such as that of the kind which he had described from Sir Charles Marston, for the special purpose of excavation at Jerusalem, it was evident that the work at Ophel must be proceeded with.

Sir Charles Marston said it was with some reluctance that he seconded the motion, because his name figured rather too often in the Report. Nevertheless, it was a privilege to be able to contribute towards the knowledge of the world regarding the Holy Land, and especially regarding Jerusalem. It was surprising to him that with the immense wealth in the world at the present time there was not a number of gentlemen, who were far more wealthy than he could ever pretend to be, spending large sums of money on the work carried

out by the Fund. It was of transcendent importance to the human race to know the history of Palestine—the history of the land which had been responsible for a large proportion of the Book which of all books in the world had exercised the most profound influence and which was of the greatest importance to all. He hoped the time would come when there would be a far wider interest in such researches than there had been so far. The excavations now in progress under Mr. Crowfoot were being carried out in a very energetic manner. He did not know whether those present felt as he did, but he was certainly very excited at the prospect of what might be lying underneath the Byzantine buildings and the paved way which he understood Mr. Crowfoot had found.

The Report and Accounts were unanimously adopted, without discussion.

On the motion of Dr. WHEELER, seconded by Mr. H. A. ERLEBACH, the Executive Committee was unanimously re-elected.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Hon. Secretary to give a résumé of the Report received from Mr. Crowfoot in connection with the excavations at Ophel, and to show certain photographs which had been received with the Report.

Dr. MASTERMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I have importuned the Chairman to explain why I am doing that which I think should be his job. I must therefore tell you that Dr. Hall only arrived last night from Crete and so was unable to pick up the threads of the report in time. Being unable to consult our Chairman, we stated that Mr. Crowfoot's report would be read. It is, however, to be printed verbatim in the next *Quarterly Statement*. As it is somewhat technical and a little lengthy, and as I know you are all anxious to hear Sir Flinders Petrie, I propose to limit myself to a quarter of an hour in which to briefly tell you what has been done. I should like to explain, in the first instance, that we returned to Ophel, though we had seriously considered a new site. There was a very general feeling that whether we went back now or later, we were bound at some time to go on with the work we had begun at Ophel. We are the only British Society who have been excavating in that region. The excavations were begun by Sir Charles Warren, carried on by Dr. Bliss and Professor Dickie, and then quite recently by Professor

Macalister and the Rev. Garrow Duncan. Everything was favourable to our continuing, and circumstances arose to give us a very good opportunity of working. Briefly, they were these: There is another Society, which you may call a daughter Society of ours, known as the British School of Archaeology, and they recently appointed a new Director who should give his whole time to the work, with the aid of an Assistant Director. The new Director was Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, who was Inspector of Antiquities in the Sudan and who has now retired. He was very anxious that the Jerusalem School of Archaeology should have some practical excavations in Palestine, and we were very anxious to have someone to do it, so we came to a satisfactory agreement. We are giving a certain donation to the other Society, but Mr. Crowfoot is working practically in an honorary capacity for our work, as is his assistant, Mr. FitzGerald. It was an extraordinarily good chance for us. As he was very anxious to get to work we came, somewhat suddenly, to a decision, that decision being very greatly assisted by the very generous offer of Sir Charles Marston that he would give £1,000 towards the excavations if the Fund would agree to give an equal amount. We have got to carry out the bargain. My feeling is that if during this first season we find anything very encouraging we must go on with it, and then we shall have to get more financial assistance. The excavations being carried on at the present time may lead to anything.

There are two special points that make us cling to this site. For one thing, those of us who have interested themselves in the topography of Jerusalem would like very much to see if any western wall existed to the old Jebusite city which we think became the City of David. That has never been demonstrated, and those who cling to the older topography of Jerusalem and place Sion on the western hill are still able to say that we have not a conclusive proof that the Jerusalem of David's time was on that little Hill of Ophel.

The second point is this: from evidence, both historical and what has been found on the site, there seems good ground for thinking that an enormous amount of very ancient rubbish has been dumped into the valley. We know that some was dumped into the Valley of the Kidron and there is a general view that a great deal more has been thrown into the Tyropoeon. We are therefore making a deep trench, right down, we hope, to the rock, across the deepest part of the Tyropoeon Valley, and we trust that there we may find some

of the really ancient treasures which were cleared off the site when later building took place. Many suppose that almost everything belonging to the period of the Monarchy was cleared right off at the time of the Maccabaeans.

Those are two things we want to look for. What else there may be, we do not know, but those of us who are optimistic always cherish the possibility of finding something of enormous importance in excavating such a unique site, the most ancient occupation site of Jerusalem. If it is not there, we shall learn that it is not, but we shall be very disappointed. However, we go on full of hope that such things as inscriptions or other works of antiquity which will be of great historical and biblical interest may come to light at any time.

We have been very fortunate in our preliminary negotiations. Mr. Crowfoot, accustomed to have Government backing in dealing with people, managed to make negotiations on this occasion very short. He began on May 2, and he was at work, I think, on May 23, which is very good for Jerusalem. The first problem on Ophel chiefly consists of cauliflowers. The site is a very dreary one to look at and does not inspire one with much idea of a beautiful market garden, but, as soon as you want to dig there, the cauliflower becomes of enormous value, and we had to buy out a crop of cauliflowers covering an area of 1,680 square metres. The price has gone up, but I think we have been very fortunate in that inclusive of the rent of the area in which we are now working and compensation for the cauliflowers and certain other things planted there, we have got off with £200. (Applause.) I am very glad to hear that applause, because I thought some would think that was a great deal. Our experience is that we have done very well. I may say that when there was a great deal of haggling, Mr. Crowfoot quietly paid over the money to the Assistant Commissioner and commenced to dig without waiting, and that plan succeeded very well.

The second fact to which I am glad to call your attention is that the Silwānis, the people of Silwān, who are being employed, have a reputation of being somewhat troublesome. In the last letter from Mr. Crowfoot he says he likes them, and that they are doing very well. Though they are not quite up to Egyptian workmen in some respects they have a good deal of knowledge of dealing with stones, and that is the most important thing in that particular site. And then Mr. Crowfoot has obtained, through the kindness of Mr. Rowe,

who has been working at Beisan, two Egyptian Reises, who are very skilled overseers. He is to have their services at least until August, and they are working very well indeed.

I think I will now show you the area in which we are working, and so I have had put on the screen a general plan showing the position of Field 10. You will also see the position of the excavations carried out by Sir Charles Warren, Dr. Bliss, and Professor Weil. On the eastern side where Mr. Macalister and Mr. Garrow Duncan worked a great and splendid fort was found, probably Solomonic. We are working due west of the Virgin's Fountain, and striking right across the Tyropoeon Valley. Just on the edge of Field 10, or Field 9, we hope to find some evidence of the western wall. The idea is to drive a trench 20 metres wide. When Mr. Crowfoot first thought of that and of the dry sands of Egypt, he thought that would mean that while the bottom would be 20 feet wide, the outside would have to be enormously wide. But the earth proved to be very consolidated and to stand up very satisfactorily without having a very big slope. In fact, Mr. Crowfoot is very pleased he has not to make an exceedingly wide entrance to get his trench.

I can only report now the result of twenty-four days' work, and you cannot expect much in so short a time. In commencing his first excavations Mr. Crowfoot had, first of all, a depth of about 6 to 8 inches of well-manured earth, and this has been taken off and put on one side, we presume, to be restored afterwards. Then there were certain rough buildings—two rooms and a well—which he dated to about the 13th century. Nothing very important. Then at a lower level, about a metre down, he came across rather better buildings, which he thought belonged to about the 10th century, judging by a quantity of pottery of a special type found at the same time. Below that he came across a very deep layer which is, undoubtedly, Byzantine, and you see in the slide the street and thresholds of houses. Many of you probably remember that Dr. Bliss years ago found a very splendid street ascending from the Pool of Siloam towards the Temple. It was a better-made street than that now found, and wider; it ran a great deal lower level. We shall no doubt come across that street at a deeper depth, but the street before you on the screen is purely Byzantine work, made with large blocks of stone, and is about 5 metres wide, which is a good width for a street in an eastern town. About 20 metres

of the street have been uncovered, and on the east and west of it there are houses all the way up, making a complete row, many of the walls standing to as much as 8 feet in height.

You see before you one of the houses, showing the entrance, and a man standing in the second room. A piece of pottery was found in that house with the inscription "Anastasiou" on it, and so Mr. Crowfoot called this the House of Anastasius. There are steps indicating that the house was two stories high. There was a quantity of objects found there, but I will not enumerate them now. You will see them described in the Report (p. 145). You are looking through the door of the house with a workman in an inner room. You notice that the blocks are quite well cut and it is remarkable that there should be such a height remaining standing (Plate II, Fig. 3).

The floors are in white mosaic: quite plain, but still in good condition.

Since we received the slides I have shown you, Mr. Crowfoot has written to say that he has gone still deeper and found that these houses stand upon a built-up sort of embankment made up partly of earth and partly of walls with cross-walls about 4 metres high supporting these houses, so that they stand up very high, and of course all that sort of superstructure—that underwork—is of no very great interest archaeologically. The spaces are only filled up with stone-chips and earth.

How does it come that there is all this rebuilding outside, as it would appear to be, of the city walls. Now when Dr. Bliss was excavating the southern walls of Jerusalem, as they were in Hebrew times, he traced them right down to include the Pool of Siloam; they went along the edge of the Valley of Kidron and then went up along the eastern edge of what we call Ophel. When Titus came those walls were entirely destroyed, and the Romans later built the city walls much higher up the hill. For some centuries that region was, apparently, never built upon and was outside the city. Then the Empress Eudocia, when a widow, came in A.D. 450 to Jerusalem and did some great works of piety. For one thing, she built the Church of St. Stephen which has now been rebuilt by the Dominicans, and it is generally supposed that she built that church at the Pool of Siloam which was found by Dr. Bliss. But more interesting than that in our present connection; at the top of the old Hebrew walls Dr. Bliss found the Byzantine walls of the Empress

Eudocia, showing that in her time the whole of this region was again enclosed within the walls. It had not been enclosed from the time of Titus; and after Eudocia's walls were destroyed this area was never enclosed again. These streets and buildings, therefore, belong to the time when the empress enlarged the city and again enclosed all this area within the city.

Well, I must not detain you, because you have something more interesting to hear, but it would not be fair not to tell you what our beginnings are, and we hope that when we get below these comparatively modern buildings, only A.D. 450, we shall be almost sure to strike the Roman street that was found at Siloam by Dr. Bliss, and we hope we will also find things of great interest in the still lower levels.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are all interested to have heard Dr. Masterman's description of Mr. Crowfoot's finds up to date, and we hope that his excavations will lead to further discoveries of importance. I now call upon Sir Flinders Petrie to give an account of his excavations at Gerar.

Professor Sir FLINDERS PETRIE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—To begin with, I would like to say a few words as to why we went to Gerar. First, we wanted to know something more of the relations of Egypt with Palestine, because we wished to trace out, as far as we could, the meaning of the Egyptian occupation there and see what the influence of Egypt was. Secondly, we wanted very much to get, if possible, a more complete scale of dating of all the remains of Palestine, by taking a large site close to Egypt where we should get the greatest number of connexions with Egyptian history, and thereby get the best basis for an exact dating of the town. I may say that we have succeeded in getting the complete digging of half a dozen superimposed towns, each of which we are pretty safe in dating within ten years. That will, I hope, give a much greater precision to the dating of all the remains found in Palestine. I have drawn more than 500 types of pottery all dated by their levels, and about as many examples of various other objects of bronze, iron, and so forth.

There was another object, and that was, knowing the difficulties there have been in Palestine in connexion with the supply of work-

people, it seemed wise to train an entirely new body of men and have them as a reserve which could be used in any place in which it was desired to avoid local difficulties. I may say that we succeeded in that, and very satisfactorily. We trained the agricultural Bedawy who had never been used before, so far as I understand, certainly not in ordinary contract and engineering work. They proved remarkably amenable, and when they had had a month or two of practice they worked very steadily indeed. I never wish to work with better people than the agricultural Bedawy, though the nomad Bedawy is a curse. We had as many as 380 men, boys, and girls, all at work, and they were quite willing, many of them, to go to other places if there was work of the same kind to be had. They should never be mixed with the people elsewhere, because they are on a very much lower scale of remuneration, which will allow of feeding them well in addition.

We think we have succeeded, certainly in three of the objects we had in mind: we have further connexions of Egypt with Palestine; we have much closer dating for the remains of Palestine back to 1500 B.C.; and we have trained an entirely new body of workmen.

Now of all the sites likely to give satisfactory results the mount at Tell Jemmeh, which is believed to be the ancient Gerar, seemed most promising. I think there is no possible doubt of its being identified with Gerar, and it attracted me because there was nothing later than the early Greek material on the top, without any Roman remains. We began work therefore on this important site, situated nine miles to the south of Gaza, in country totally uninhabited except for Bedawy in tents. We had to trust to getting labour by the force of the attraction of pay. That succeeded, and we seldom had less than fifty men waiting at the beginning of every week to be taken on, and thus we had the pick of a good set of men.

You see before you on the screen the hill of Gerar as viewed from the south, and the line of brick huts erected to house our party. We had five people who were fully competent to take charge of the men at any point. My wife was there and did practically all the pay work, and a good deal of the oversight. We had three very active and zealous workers, two of them entirely new students, Lieut. Risdon and Mr. Harding, who had not been out before, and one who had already worked three or four years before, Mr. Starkey.

Thus there were five altogether, and I do not think we could possibly run that site with a smaller number, having regard to the quantity of work which had to be done.

The mound is of native soil up to about one-third of its height of clay and marl. Above that is 50 feet of town or settlement ruins, and our business was to get down through it. We began work at the further or north end of the site, because that was the most promising, and we then recruited our men. They behaved very well; when we told them, they would sit down quietly, and when we wanted them, they waited until they were called up one by one. We had no mobbing: they always grouped themselves according to their villages, so that we could pick out the men of one village to work together.

The north end was most promising because there you always get the sea breeze, and thus it is likely to be a place where important buildings would be built. First, we found a large number of great circular granaries, the largest 30 feet in diameter, and, judging by the pictures of granaries seen on Assyrian monuments, I should think that means 80 feet high—20 feet underground and probably 60 feet above, the smaller ones about 40 or 50 feet above ground. These granaries would have held sufficient grain to feed 100,000 men for at least two months. The place really was a gigantic grain store. We found just under the foundation of one of the granaries a Greek vase of about 460 B.C. which had been broken up and thrown in the rubbish just before the granaries were built. In 455 B.C. the Persians had reconquered Egypt, and that was the last great Persian movement of that century. So it is practically certain that these granaries were all put up for the sake of storing grain for the reconquest of Egypt in 455 B.C., and they cannot be put earlier than that. We found portions of large storehouses, but only on the surface. I estimate that at least 5 feet has been wiped off the whole of that surface by denudation, which has been enormous in some places and has scooped out valleys 20 or 30 feet deep since the period of the Persian settlement.

In the plan you will see this first lay-out of work that we found, and also ghosts of other outlines. I have placed the outline of the underlying stratum on each town plan, and it seems that they planted these granaries, in the centre of the courtyard, and at other places where the ground was less encumbered with ruins and walls.

There is no doubt that the walls were complete ruins when the granaries were built.

The fine Greek vase shown on the screen was claimed by the Museum at Jerusalem. It is undoubtedly of the very best period of draughtsmanship and dated to 450 B.C., or 460 B.C., but I think it must go to 460 B.C., because it was under the gigantic granaries, and there is no chance of their having been built later than 455 B.C.

You see next what we reached immediately under the granaries, namely, the plan of a great fortress, with walls 10 feet thick, a piece of work exactly like that we are accustomed to in Egypt. There is no doubt that this was built by Psammetichus, and he most bitterly needed it, seeing that the Assyrians within six years before his reign had four times run through this district to invade Egypt, so he needed a strong frontier.

There is also a residence of the same period; in this lay-out of the buildings of Psammetichus, the shaded areas show where the whole of the walls have been destroyed by the great Persian granaries sunk through them: they went through three or four cities, just as the foundations of our buildings in London go through Edwardian, Saxon, Norman, and Roman periods in order to get sufficient foundation.

When we came to remove that we found some much slighter buildings, and from the level in relation to Shishak and Psammetichus we can hardly doubt that this is the town laid out by Amaziah, when he conquered Edom and was wishing to establish some control there. The buildings are good but at the same time straggling, although they follow the lines of the older buildings below them. Having regard to the fact that they are much nearer to the time of Shishak than to that of Psammetichus, it can hardly be doubted this was a building of Amaziah.

Below that we came to a magnificent lay-out of a town with large bricks and deep foundations laid in sand, typical of Egyptian brickwork. Under the walls we found altogether six layers of foundations in sand; above the sand layers comes the plastered wall which was originally above ground. Over the whole area we found large bricks of the same size laid in sand, evidently the great lay-out of a town of one period. When we came to clear the site we found, amongst other things, that the ladies of that time were in the habit of putting their jewellery in a safe place by storing it

in a broken crock and burying it in the floor of their room. We found several types of beads and other ornaments, one crock containing a quantity of amulets of the XXth Dynasty style; thereby we got a definite dating-point. As Shishak did not occupy the country for very long, we can safely say that this town must have been built within a few years of his occupation of Palestine in 932 B.C. Gerar was an extremely important place strategically; it was on the high road from Egypt striking across the hill country to Jerusalem. It is also a necessary point for anyone coming along the coast-road, because anyone holding Gerar would in an hour or two completely cut communications along the coast-road to Palestine. It is essential that anyone who controls Palestine from Egypt should hold Gerar in force, because it controls, and is on the road to, the upper country, and completely dominates the road to the lower country. We therefore see why the Egyptians seem to have taken up this place and fortified it whenever they wanted to hold Palestine.

Next is a view of the walls of the city showing how we have dug them out, usually remaining to a depth of 2 feet or 3 feet, sometimes 4 feet. Generally speaking, the space apart of the town levels is about 5 feet, which means that the walls remained 2 feet or 3 feet high, and that the upper part has been overthrown when the houses became uninhabitable owing to washing down by the rain; the whole site of ruin was levelled and a fresh town built. That was the usual end of each of these successive towns.

Then we came below that to a much less distinct group of remains which appear to have been built by Rameses III. We found a scarab of Rameses III which would give a fixed dating-point between the XVIIIth and XXIInd Dynasties. I think we can hardly doubt that the town was laid out by Rameses III. You may ask, Why not Rameses II? I think the reason is that he really controlled a considerable part of Palestine, and therefore did not feel it necessary to fortify the frontier; whereas Rameses III only invaded the country for a short time, and would want to strengthen the frontier in order to maintain communications with Egypt.

Next is a view of the actual lay-out of the city as it stands. We cut down from the top of the hill over an area of about 1 acre. The whole of the successive plans are linked together by having the same survey points run through all of them. Then at every level we put letters for the chambers, so that every chamber

we exposed has two letters. For instance, it may be called EJ, or, at a lower level, might be GM. Those two letters defined the chamber, and every thing found in it was marked with the same letters and the actual level, in feet, so that we have a complete check on the whole of the material. More than a thousand objects have been registered in that manner, and we can in future discuss exactly what has been found together, where it was found, and whether at the same level or not. The whole of that material is before us and available for anyone who wishes to use it and work over the results. In that way there is no possibility of losing any information which would be of value. Lastly we see the lowest level cleared, which we attribute to Thothmes III. In that was a good scarab of his, and also one of the bronze knives for cutting out cloth, the form of which varied very rapidly, and we know the details of date from the Egyptian examples. The knife found was of the type of those at the beginning of the reign of Thothmes III, so we may safely say these are some of the buildings of his time. We hoped to find remains of a still earlier town below, but when we went much deeper in part of this site—down 20 feet further, under the ground of Thothmes III—there was nothing definite, but only loose camping ground. The walls of the Thothmes period were nothing like so fine as the upper walls; they generally had a big stone put at the corner, quite unshaped, the wall being built, apparently, mainly of mud and dried in position, and not of actual bricks. We found bricks in some parts, but a great deal is plastered up with mud laid on and dried, and when we went deeper we found no walls at all and scarcely any pottery. What we did find there was an enormous quantity of flint sickles, in use, of course, before the Egyptians came in at 1480 B.C. At that point our series of towns has to stop. We have traced out the history through six successive building levels, from 400 B.C. to 1500 B.C.

A few examples may be seen of the pottery we have found. There were many bowls, very often decorated with painting, and a curious pot of bright red ware, with a very long trough from which to drink, with ridges across it, as if to catch any grit that might come with the water. I do not think we have seen anything quite so elaborate before. Those articles date about the XXIInd Dynasty, or Shishak's time.

There were many fibulæ, or safety-pins, beginning at about 900 B.C. and going down to 400 B.C. They are peculiar, in that they have a shank with a hole in it, and the pin fits into that with its spring. They are made in a different manner to any previously known elsewhere. There is a long series of these running through many stages, which will help us somewhat in the dating of these things in other places.

We found a large number of scarabs, some of which had kings' names on, and are undoubtedly of value for dating-points. Among them we have one of Thothmes which was found in a low stratum. We ourselves have found several scarabs—most of the early ones—by simply picking them up from the denuded surface of the hill, the lower strata being exposed by the washing of the rains all round. The most interesting thing was a carnelian scarab, with a figure of a king (judging by the bushy hair) riding a dromedary and shooting at a lion. The idea of riding a dromedary to shoot a lion is essentially Arabian. That, of course, is kept for the Palestine Museum. The whole of this place was, undoubtedly, more connected with North Arabia than with Syria and Palestine.

The importance of the city, anciently, seems to have been what Gaza is now, namely, the centre for trade and business, for weapons, and for clothing for the North-west Arabians, the Edomites, and Amalekites; it was the frontier town of civilization, just as Gaza is now, for there they make all the swords and daggers for the Arabs, and weave a great quantity of cloth. That was certainly the case at Gerar, and it seems, as the climate became slightly drier, the frontier has had to move northward and so Gaza has taken the place of Gerar as a commercial centre.

On the screen is an impression of a very fine Assyrian cylinder in lapis lazuli representing, with the bird-scorpion-god and the dugong, Ea, the Teacher of Mankind. There is only one cylinder like that in the Hayes Ward catalogue. We found it a little below the level of Psammetichus, at the time when the Assyrians were entering the country in 700 B.C. Of that period also were some limestone incense altars, about 4-inch cube, which seems to have been derived from Assyria. They are well known there, and do not belong to Palestine in particular, certainly not to Egypt, and as they are quite familiar in Assyria it seems that they were introduced by the Assyrians when they came in about 700 B.C. They have

very curious figures of animals scratched on them, also palm trees and, apparently, a tank of water between them. We do not know the meaning of these things, but there are also several engraved figures on these incense altars.

Next you see specimens of very remarkable pottery, totally unknown in Palestine before; different from anything we have seen in either Palestine or Egypt. The quality is remarkably thin and smooth. Nearly the whole of that pottery was found in one hole under the building of Psammetichus; that is to say about 700 B.C. On comparison with pottery in the British Museum we find the same thin pottery in Assyria, the same form of vase in silver also from Assyria; I think there is no doubt that the whole of this pottery was the property of the Assyrian governor, imported from home, and as it got broken it was thrown away in the rubbish hole of his house.

Then we found a curious lamp-bowl of trachyte, certainly made for a lamp because we found smoke on the spout. It has a bull's head carved in relief upon it. It is likely to have been imported from the north, because it does not seem to harmonize with southern work.

You see now a curious slab of stone which throws some light on the condition of the calendar at the time. You will observe that there are two rows of 14 strokes each, and another line, which was probably also 14, but which is broken. There has been a debate as to at what point the week emerged from being a purely lunar week, depending on the lunation, and thereby varying as seven or eight days in order to fit the moon, and from that became a definite seven-day week. It is disputed whether the Jewish Calendar was adjusted to the moon or to the seven-day cycle. So it is interesting to find a stone which goes back to a considerable time—certainly as early as 700 B.C. or 800 B.C.—in which you find lines of 14 or 28 strokes, which shows they were working on a definite calendar week.

There are many of the iron sickles which came in with the introduction of ironwork about 1200 B.C.; these are dated by the amulets of the XXIInd Dynasty, with the beads obtained from the finds of domestic jewellery, such as strings of carnelian beads and agate, with an ivory figure of Ashtaroth. The set of necklaces with large beads of crystal and carnelian and agate is of about the XXIIIrd Dynasty.

At about 1200 B.C. by the levels, we found examples of large ironwork. There was an iron pick weighing 7 pounds, some large hoes, a plough point, and an adze. The whole of the larger ironwork was found side by side with furnaces where, presumably, it was made. Hitherto we have not had any manufactured iron earlier than about Seti II; but we have now found two knives which go back to about 1350 B.C.—the earliest known manufactured iron that can be dated.

Then we found also another form of furnace, the walls of which have rotted and crumbled away. That was really a small cubical furnace, with a long trough extending about 3 or 4 feet, tremendously heated, obviously for the purpose of heating some long bar of metal. I think we cannot doubt that it was a sword furnace. Two of these were found. At present they make swords at Gaza for the Arabs. Most of our workmen came armed with swords as well as with daggers. They discarded the swords, but the daggers were always in their belts.

We also found a curious frontlet of thin sheet gold, which I think had probably been on the head of a statue, because there are no means of attaching it to a dress. It is of a form which I do not remember seeing anywhere before. With that were fragments of a roundel of sheet gold which had been arranged to surround four lotus flowers and buds which had been most likely carved in stone. It had been ripped and torn off the statue and rolled round and round into a little bundle as we found it.

I may say that we did not have the least trouble in getting all the things found by our workmen. We always gave them a good reward. The system was that whenever anything of trifling impotance was found, our friends who superintended the work just paid for it directly out of a stock of small change. When things of more value were found I generally went up and gave the man his bakshish apart from the others. It is a rule never to let a man's companions know what he has got, because the Sheikh will hear of it and will want to go halves. When that man rejoins his comrades with a very satisfied expression, you get your full value. They then know the safest thing is to hand up whatever they find.

You see on the screen one of the most important groups which we found because of the row of little figures, all typical of the XXIInd Dynasty. I do not think we can put those outside that limit. With them were found carnelian and agate beads, and various

odds and ends, such as ivory spacers and bits of stray jewellery. That group is what gives us confidence that we are dealing with the time of the XXIInd Dynasty, and if the town belongs to that Dynasty it cannot have been built by anybody but Shishak, who was the only Egyptian who occupied Palestine in that period.

You see on the screen a curious form of a model chariot in pottery with a figure standing in it. We found not only these two but others, and also wheels belonging to the models. They are of extreme interest because they are found in Assyria, with both forms of wheels, spiked and round; and, more than that, they are found in Turkestan right away to the east of the Caspian. At Anau were found those model chariots in two divisions, of exactly the same kind, and with the wheels of the same make as we found in Egypt. This is one of five or six remarkable examples in which the XXIInd Dynasty is closely linked with Central Asia and with Mesopotamia. That, of course, bears on the whole question of the origin of the XXIInd Dynasty from Shishak, "the man of Susa," as I explain it; and whatever Libyan connexions there were in the XXIInd Dynasty it does not prove that the ruling race came from there. All the connexions with the XXIInd Dynasty reached at Gerar are eastern. We have thus very good evidence that we are dealing with a large wave of eastern migration at the time. In contrast to that the whole of the remains found in the Jewish town, as I should call it, were entirely western. There was nothing eastern in those. The whole sympathies were then with the west, while in the Shishak period the whole connexions were with the east.

You see two well-known figures of Hathor. They were sometimes moulded in the solid. One is evidently of Syrian origin by the form of the wig. In other figures you get the wig coming down in the Egyptian form with a tie across the middle of the hair. Those probably belong to the period when the Egyptian influence was strongest, and was the form of hair-dressing copied from Egypt. They re-cut their models when they got worn, but in a very rough manner. These separate heads were all fitted into the tops of pots. They used to turn an upright pot, and then put on one of the moulded heads and covers to finish it off. There are also other figures at a period when they moulded the whole figure in one. We have a large number of these figures and also of animal figures, the whole of them being well dated from the levels of the towns.

Now we come to an interesting little link, namely, the way in which the Bedawy tents are pitched facing towards the north part of the mound. This custom accounts for that rather remarkable point which most people might wonder at, that Abimelech looked out of his window and saw into a Bedawy tent. Here we see that it is possible to look straight into the tents pitched below. That is one of those little trifles which show how remarkably exact are the incidental descriptions in the narratives, even as far back as the time of Isaac.

The next slide shows a sample of the flint sickles that we found, which were practically the only remains in the levels earlier than the time of Thothmes, before the Egyptian conquest. We found a great quantity of these flint sickles, and many of them have the white plaster by which they set them into the wooden framing. That is interesting, because we have only hitherto found the bare flakes; now we have the actual plaster showing how they were set in.

All these things that we have brought over are at present on exhibition at University College in Gower Street.

There is another question which I hope we shall be able to see our way to deal with, that of seeing what can be done in the way of keeping together a representative collection of things belonging to Palestine. It is a large subject, but the collection is one which we can hardly hope to see housed in the crowded state of the British Museum. There is a large collection of the articles found by the Palestine Exploration Fund in the past housed in the Library at your offices; they are so crowded that there is no room to receive any more. We have brought home what is, I think, the most completely dated series that we are likely to get of the pottery and metal-work running from 1500 B.C. to 400 B.C. I am very loath that that should be scattered among the different museums, but it will necessarily occupy a considerable space. Something will have to be done if we are to have a representative collection, and I very much hope that it may be possible for some united action to be taken in the way of having a Palestine Museum where, perhaps, the finds of the Palestine Exploration Fund might be housed on loan, and where from year to year as things are found—and I hope there will be a continuous flow—by the English workers they can be exhibited. I think it will be necessary for us to house large

quantities of material from Palestine within the next ten or twenty years. Unless we stir ourselves and make a start the things will be dribbling away, a few here and a few there, into local museums, and we shall never get a representative collection. You have the opportunity this year of securing a thoroughly representative exhibit with very close dating, and precision as to the exact meaning and relation of one thing to another. I hope it may be possible for some united action to take place within the next few weeks with regard to securing a definite Palestine Museum. We may hope that the Jewish interest may lead to having a joint museum for securing the perpetual preservation of all these most important pieces, and affording continual means of examining them and studying the history of the series. I very much hope that something of the kind will be done, and done quickly.

I would mention, lastly, that those who may wish for copies of the published work on Gerar are requested to communicate with the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. This work was done by the British School in Egypt, following up the Egyptian sources over the border, but an arrangement has been made that we should exchange publications. That is to say, anyone who wishes for the volume on Gerar has only to notify the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund and a copy will be supplied at half price. I hope that in that way those who may wish to follow up this work will do so through their own Committee.

The Chairman felt sure that all present had listened with very great interest to Sir Flinders Petrie's account of excavations at Gerar, and he therefore proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Sir Flinders for his remarks and interesting lantern slides. In the latter he had shown the technique and art of excavating the various strata of ancient sites one above the other. The art of digging out and distinguishing buildings of different strata was one of the most interesting and, at the same time, most difficult things an excavator had to learn. The digging out of tombs was an easy matter in comparison. Where knowledge and experience told was when one had to deal with buildings in superimposed strata, and especially in countries where crude brick was used, and the form of the brick had often disappeared, so that it was hardly possible to tell whether one was digging brick walls or earth. He

was glad to confirm what Sir Flinders Petrie had said with regard to the exchange of publications between his organization and the Fund, and though he could not speak for the other members of the Committee, the Chairman felt sure Sir Flinders Petrie's suggestion as to a Palestine Museum would, at any rate, meet with sympathetic consideration from them. More than that it was impossible to say at the moment, but in principle one would sympathize with Sir Flinders' desire to see a special Palestine Museum established in London so that those interested could obtain a general idea of the results of excavation in Palestine. How far such a museum might or might not conflict with the interests of museums already established would be a question for consideration.

Sir Charles Marston, in seconding the proposition, thought all present would agree that they had listened to a most interesting and absorbing address, and must all have been impressed with the extraordinarily painstaking and careful way in which Gerar was being excavated. There was only one thing they would like to know from Sir Flinders, namely, whether he was going to continue with the same work or with something equally interesting, because he was contributing to human knowledge in a way which was of the greatest importance at the present time.

The vote of thanks was most heartily accorded.

The Rev. Garrow Duncan, in proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. Hall for presiding, and to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries for the use of the room, took the opportunity of thanking the Palestine Exploration Fund for the two years' experience he had on Mount Ophel. He was deeply interested in the work being done by Mr. Crowfoot, and ventured to suggest that an attempt should be made to get into Field 3. He had hopes of things being found in that field which he would have made a great attempt to reach before he left the site if only he had had £300. With regard to the western wall, before he left he was absolutely convinced that it would be found close to the western side of the rock of Ophel, and what Mr. Crowfoot was now doing should be conclusive as to the position of the western wall of Ophel. The next point that ought to be cleared up in regard to Ophel was the Tombs of the Kings, which ought to be somewhere

almost straight across from where he had discovered a series of rock chambers, as reported in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1925–26. They would, he thought, be found on a scarp, not on the eastern side of Ophel, but more towards the Tyropœon or western site. Sir Flinders Petrie's work was most interesting. It would be observed that as a result of his discoveries he had pushed back the Iron Age by 300 to 350 years. Certainly, when the result of Sir Flinders' work was thoroughly understood and appreciated it would be found that the date would have to be revised to a considerable extent.

The Hon. Secretary formally seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

The Chairman, in returning thanks, thanked Mr. Garrow Duncan for his remarks and suggestions as to future work. He felt sure that the interests of the Fund were in excellent hands, and that all that Mr. Crowfoot could do would be done. The business-like procedure would certainly be maintained, judging by what he knew of Mr. Crowfoot's work in the Sudan. Members would have noticed the celerity with which Mr. Crowfoot had sent in his reports and the excellent photographs that had accompanied them. Whether he found the Tombs of the Kings or not, Mr. Crowfoot would no doubt obtain results which would be of the greatest interest to all concerned.

The proceedings then terminated.

# FIRST REPORT OF THE NEW EXCAVATIONS ON OPHEL.

## TYROPOEON VALLEY: EXCAVATIONS IN FIELD 10.

By J. W. Crowfoot.

Work began on May 23 and continued, Sundays excepted, until the eve of the Bairam feast which fell on June 9; this report therefore covers the work of the first fifteen days.

2. Field 10 is bounded north and south by the terrace walls dividing it from the adjacent fields, east by the road running from the Haram to the Pool of Siloam, and west by a gulley cut by the overflow from a drain which comes down from the north-west. The field is irregular in shape, the length, east to west, diminishing from about 80 metres in the north to about 40 metres in the south; the greatest breadth, north to south is about 40 metres. From east to west the ground is practically level, rising only ·43 metres in 60 metres, but from north to south it drops at a slope of about 1 in 11 (1·79 metres in our 20-metre trench). The semi-permanent features in the field which we decided not to disturb are four: a hut used as a stable for donkeys in the north-east corner; a large drain just south of this hut which is a higher section of the sewer crossing Field 7 on the other side of the road (P.E.F. *Annual*, No. 4, Plate XI); a cultivation well 18 metres south-west of the stable and about 2 metres west of the road; and a shed with outbuildings in the middle of the south side, projecting some 9 or 10 metres into the field. The Tyropoeon Valley crosses the field from north to south, the deepest part of the original valley lying wholly in the eastern half of the field. (The 2249 rock contour on the east side of the valley, shown in the 1925 Ordnance map, runs 16 metres west of the stable, and the same contour on the west side of the valley is some 36 metres west of the same point.) We decided to begin by digging a broad trench, some 20 metres wide, starting from the eastern boundary wall but avoiding the drain and going

right across the assumed deepest part of the valley to within a few feet of the western 2249 rock contour. We hoped, and still hope, that the spoil from an excavation of these dimensions will not exceed the limited dumping-ground available, and that the excavation will be sufficiently large to throw light on the main problems before us.

3. The field has been for some years a profitable market-garden, and the condition of the growing vegetables showed that it had been intensively cultivated and was exceptionally productive. We thought it right, therefore, to begin operations by stripping off the upper surface of newly made manured soil to a depth of 6 inches or 8 inches and dumping this by itself in the south-east corner of the field; the rest of the soil we are dumping on the land west of the excavation. We found no trace of olive trees such as had been found by Professor Macalister, and the first traces of buildings were struck within a metre of the surface at the north end of our excavation.

We started with 36 local men and boys, and the number was raised to 80 before the end of the first week; in the second week we employed about 100 daily, and this seems to be the greatest number which can be conveniently employed at present in our area. We have had no reason to be dissatisfied with their work, and the two Egyptian foremen, kindly lent to us from Beisan by Mr. Alan Rowe, have been admirable. The sodden soil has been kindly in one respect: it is so cohesive that we are able to cut through it in almost vertical sections, a point of the greatest importance in our cramped area, but it is not a good preservative of antiquities.

4. It would be premature to enter into any details with regard to the finds made up to date, but the principal discoveries may be summarized as follows:—

Three distinct levels of occupation have come to light in the course of our work which has now reached a maximum depth of some 15 feet.

The earliest and lowest of these appears to belong to what is locally known as the Byzantine period, say, from about A.D. 400 to about A.D. 600. The principal feature which can be assigned to this date is a paved street running north and south through

GENERAL VIEW OF EXCAVATIONS LOOKING EAST. SILWAN VILLAGE IN BACKGROUND.

*To face p.* 144]

NEAR VIEW OF EXCAVATED TRENCH. THE PAVED STREET RUNS ACROSS CENTRE OF PICTURE FROM LEFT (NORTH) TO RIGHT (SOUTH).

FIG. 1.—VIEW SHOWING LATEST AND MIDDLE OCCUPATION LEVELS.

FIG. 2.—VIEW OF BYZANTINE STREET. THRESHOLDS OF BOTH OCCUPATIONS VISIBLE.

*To face Plate II*

FIG. 3.—LOOKING THROUGH THE DOOR OF THE "HOUSE OF ANASTASIUS," WITH WORKMAN STANDING IN INNER ROOM.

FIG. 4.—ANOTHER VIEW LOOKING INTO THE "HOUSE OF ANASTASIUS," WITH BEGINNING OF STAIRWAY AND UPPER STORY.

Fig. 5.—Inside the front door of the House of Anastasius.

Fig. 6.—Looking into the vestibule of the house on the west side of the street, opposite the Anastasius House.

*To face Plate IV.*]

our field, leading, that is, from the direction of the Pool of Siloam towards the Temple area. This street, which we have uncovered for a length of 20 metres, is narrower than the paved street found by Bliss and Dickie, but wider than most of the present streets in Jerusalem, and measures just over 5 metres in breadth; it was paved with large blocks of *mizzi* stone and through the centre of it ran a covered drain, plastered at the sides and bottom and entered at various angles by drains from the houses on each side of the street. Continuous rows of building fringed the sides of the street, the walls being broken only by the doors leading into the houses on either hand. Some of the walls which are built mainly of plain-dressed *nari* stone have been preserved to a height of more than 8 feet above the original floor-level. Six rooms, three on each side of the road, have been completely excavated, and three or four others have been partly cleared. The best preserved rooms are in the south-east corner of our excavation, and from two of these a large number of metal objects in bronze and iron have been secured, including a perfect bronze oenochoe, a large bronze caldron or "copper," a great iron hoe, a bronze bowl with chains and what appears to be a folding stool of iron. Most of the floors were of plain white mosaic, though one had a pattern closely resembling one found in Field 5 (P.E.F. *Annual*, No. 4, Plate IX, Chamber A), and there is evidence to suggest that some of the houses had two stories and were roofed with tiles. The impression one derives from the buildings, which are on a modest scale, and their contents, is that at the time the Tyropoeon Valley was a respectable but undistinguished residential quarter of Jerusalem; Syria was then one of the most advanced and richest provinces of the Empire, and one ought not to be surprised at the apparent modernity of many of the fittings and utensils in these houses which may well have been typical middle-class residences. The room from which most of the metal came was part of a house in which we found also a small earthenware bowl with a lid on which the name Anastasiou had been roughly scratched; we propose, accordingly, to call this the "House of Anastasius." We have found no other instructive inscriptions up to date, but in the course of the next week or two when we have completed the excavation of this stratum—about half of it still lies hidden beneath later buildings—we may be able to speak with more precision.

The middle stratum of occupation lies about six feet above the level we have just described; and although the character of the masonry and of some of the objects found shows persistence of the earlier tradition, great changes had evidently taken place. The paved street had fallen into disuse and some five or six feet of debris had accumulated above it; the orientation of the houses was completely changed, the doors no longer facing east and west but north and south. At present only two rooms and a well or cistern can certainly be attributed to this period, and it would seem as if the space occupied by the earlier buildings we have already uncovered was not occupied by buildings of any kind in this later time, a time which may be tentatively identified with the 9th or 10th centuries of our era.

The last period of occupation is represented by a couple of rooms with a well between them and a few unintelligible fragments of walling and masonry. The walls were built immediately above those of the middle stratum which were shaved down to make a level surface for the new constructions. These walls were made of undressed stones exactly like those used by the cultivators to-day to build their sheds and stables, but they were the walls not of sheds but of regular residences: one of the rooms measured nearly 7 metres in length, and some interesting pottery which resembles ware found by the Germans at Baalbek and those assigned to the 13th century was found in them.

5. It would be unwise to attempt to draw any further conclusions at the present stage, but two general observations may be made. In the first place, the good preservation of the street flagging and the mosaics in the houses gives ground for hoping that we shall find an unadulterated pre-Byzantine context below them: actually, in our work so far, we have not found more than one or two "erratics" which have come from earlier strata into the levels we have been studying. Secondly, so far as we have gone at present, the contour of this section of the Tyropoeon Valley does not seem to have changed during the last 1,500 years; at the present day there is no dip in the levelled surface, even where soundings seem to indicate that the deepest part of the valley ran, and it appears that there was none in the "Byzantine" period either.

*June* 12.

## Supplementary Report.

We have just finished the twenty-fourth day of work. Everything is going smoothly and I have no complaints to make against the Silwanis; they are not as good as trained Egyptians, but they work fairly well, know a good deal about many stones, and—so far as my experience goes—are quite pleasant to deal with. In the middle of the field we are now below 25 feet, and are still in a Byzantine stratum! The Byzantine street and the row of houses on the west side of it appear to have been built on a great artificial embankment: the substructures—walls and cross walls—go between 3 and 4 metres at least beneath the floor-level of the western houses. The row of houses on the east side presumably will be much nearer the road, but we only started demolishing them this afternoon.

I am inclined to connect all the remains we have found with the Empress Eudosia who lived in Jerusalem for ten or eleven years in the middle of the 5th century, and was responsible for building a church in Siloam, and extending the city walls round it. This gives us the right date for our remains and explains the absence of ordinary debris and miscellaneous antiquities in the levels we have been working during the last few days; we found nothing between the substructure walls except a filling of stone chips and imported soil, very different in character from the black soil got on the surface and west of our westernmost buildings. There are consequently no small finds of interest to report and a complete absence of inscriptions. I shall try to write another report when we are really through with the Byzantine strata, and send photographs and illustrate it.

*June* 23.

# THE DISCOVERIES AT BETH-SHAN –ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

By Alan Rowe,
Field Director of the Palestine Expedition of the University Museum of Philadelphia.

With reference to my popular article on the excavations of Beth-Shan, which appeared in the *Q.S.* for April, pp. 67–84,[1] the *throne-model* (p. 71) found in the Amenophis temple is of basalt, and has on either side of it a winged animal. On the back of the throne is a vulture with extended wings, its claws holding the *shen*-emblems of eternity. Below the vulture is the *ded*-emblem of stability, having outstretched arms, from which *ankh*-emblems of life are suspended. Late Phoenician throne-models, resembling ours, are published by Contenau, *La Civilisation Phénicienne*, Fig. 33, p. 112 (discussed on p. 178); Fig. 27, p. 99; and Fig. 34, p. 113. The first-named, like our example, has winged animals on its sides, and also a bird with outstretched wings, on its upper part, on the inside (on our throne, the bird is on the back). The ultimate origin of these particular thrones (excepting their designs, which are mostly Syro-Egyptian) would seem to have been the Aegean regions. Père Vincent kindly draws my attention to the fact that the divinised empty throne is also found on *kudurrus*, or boundary, stones of the Cassite Dynasty, 16th–12th century B.C. (He also refers me to the "votary seat of Abdoubast," in the Louvre, Phoenician Halls, A.O. 4565.) Further, empty thrones are also found in Anatolia (Contenau, *op. cit.*, p. 179).

[1] The following misprints need correction: p. 75, l. 31, a bracket should be placed after "World"; p. 80, l. 21, "63 A.D." should be "636 A.D."; p. 81, l. 3, "34 B.C." should read "4 B.C."; p. 84, City-Level IV, "300 B.C." should be "302 B.C."; and p. 84, l. 7 from bottom, "examples" should read "temples."

With regard to the *cylindrical cult objects* discovered in our temples (XIXth Dynasty), some of these are almost similar in shape to cylindrical cult objects, said probably to be Anatolian in origin, found by Andrae in the archaic Ishtar temple in Assur, the date of which is 2700 B.C., or a little earlier. Moreover, the cylindrical stands, with triangular holes in them, from Assur and Beth-Shan are practically identical with similar objects found in Egypt, which are dated by their discoverers to the Old Kingdom and the Late Predynastic Era (cf., for instance, Petrie, *Medum*, Pls. XXIX, XXX—IVth Dynasty, etc., etc.). In other words, the Assur stands are contemporary with the Egyptian stands of the IVth Dynasty. Minoan cylindrical stands, with serpents on them, are shown in *Gournia*, Pl. XI, and date to the Late Minoan Era. Other stands, obviously Minoan-Cyprian in origin, were found by Garstang in Egypt, and belong to the XVIIIth Dynasty (=L.M. III era). (See *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, Pl. XI.)

With regard to the *kernoi*, or circular rings of pottery with small vases attached to them, found at Beth-Shan and elsewhere, the earliest example of a *kernos* (Predynastic Egypt) is shown by Petrie in *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*, Pl. XXXVII. Later examples are shown in *Cretan Kernoi*, Annual of B.S.A., xii, p. 16 (Crete); Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques*, p. 356 (Cyprus, L.M. III); *Naukratis*, ii, Pl. VII (Egypt -importation); Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Pls. XXV, XXXVI (Egypt, XVIIIth Dynasty—Minoan importation); *Abydos*, iii, Pl. XVI (Egypt, XVIIIth Dynasty—Minoan importation); and Garstang, *loc. cit.* (Egypt, XVIIIth Dynasty Minoan-Cyprian importation).

Did the throne-models from Beth-Shan, Phoenicia and Anatolia, the cylindrical cult objects, and the *kernoi*, have a common Mediterranean origin ?

# TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BEISĀN.

By G. M. FitzGerald, M.A.

The two brief inscriptions shown on Plates VI *sq.* were found near the summit of Tell el-Hosn, the great mound of Beisān (Beth-Shan, Scythopolis) in the course of excavations conducted by Dr. C. S. Fisher in 1921 and 1922 on behalf of the University Museum of Pennsylvania. To the Museum and to Mr. Alan Rowe, the present Field Director, I am indebted for permission to publish these inscriptions in the *Quarterly Statement.*

I. (Plate VI, Fig. 1.) As will be seen from the photograph the lettering of this inscription is somewhat crude and irregular. It is cut on the underside of a block of white limestone forming the upper half of a capital (Plate VI, Fig. 2) which lay, overturned, among a number of architectural fragments of the same material, in proximity to the foundations of a temple of the Hellenistic period. It is obvious that, were the capital in position upon a column, the inscription would be concealed.

The height of this half capital is 0·63 m., the diameter of the surface on which the inscription is cut is 1·265 m. Owing to the weathered condition of the stone it has been necessary to fill in the letters in black for the purpose of the photograph. For the same reason it is impossible to be certain of the correct reading of the first two letters of the second word. I propose to read ΑΜΦΟΔΟΥ ϹΕΙΤΙΚΗϹ and to suggest the rendering "of the quarter of the corn-market (?)."

It must be admitted, however, that when the stone is examined, the horizontal stroke of the Ε is by no means clear. The first two letters, in the present condition of the stone, both have short horizontal strokes which might equally well be intentional or the result of accident. If, however, the reading *ἐσιτικῆς* be maintained (in accordance with the opinion of some who have seen the inscription) we have a word, presumably to be derived from *εἴσειμι*, which I have not found elsewhere and which can hardly be forced into making good sense.

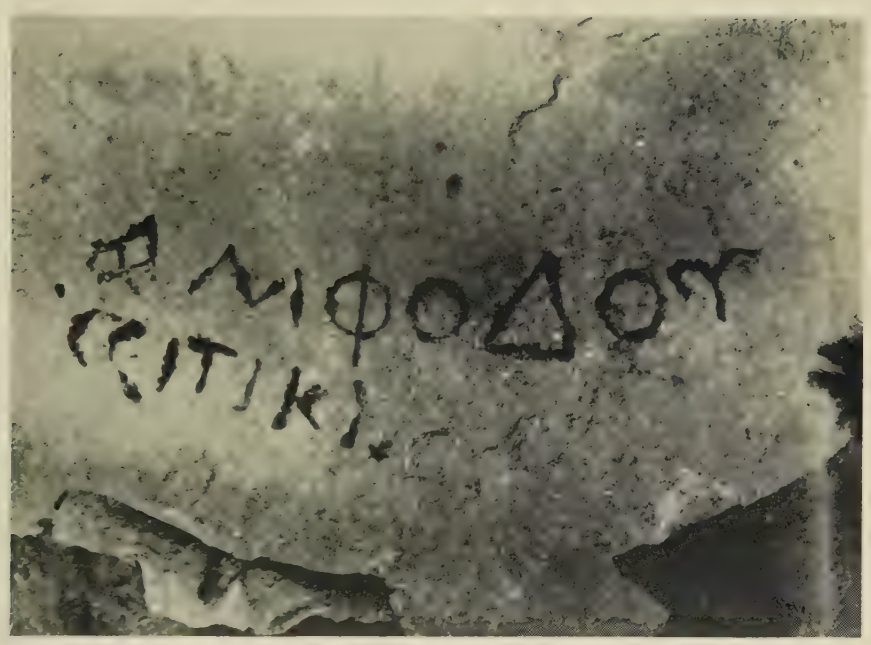

FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION OF CAPITAL FROM BEISÁN.

FIG. 2.—PORTION OF INSCRIBED CAPITAL.

*To face p.* 150.]

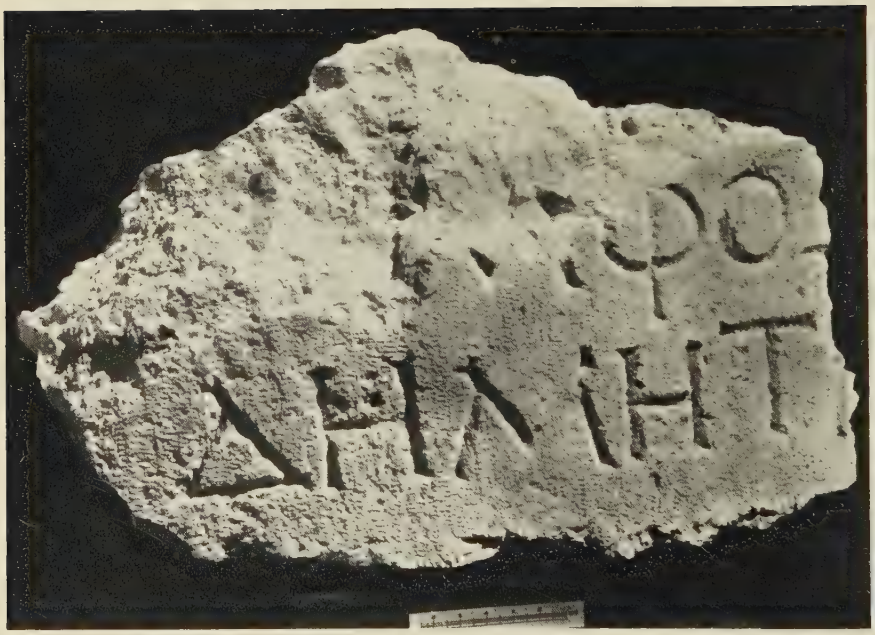

FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT OF INSCRIPTION ON A COLUMN-DRUM.

On the other hand, σεῖτος (for σῖτος) and σειτικός are forms common enough, at least in the Roman period, both in inscriptions,[1] and in papyri.[2]

The closest analogy to our inscription which I have noted is "ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ποιμενικῆς" of *Oxyrh. Pap.* II, LXXV, l. 17, and it is tempting in each case to assume a reference to an agora and to compare the "Cornmarkets" and "Shepherd's Markets" of our own day. In passing, it may be as well to point out that it is impossible to regard the adjective in the feminine as agreeing with ἀμφόδου: the form ἡ ἄμφοδος is very rare and is put out of the question by the words ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδου which occur at l. 23 of the same papyrus.

Whether the character of the letters will permit of assigning to this inscription a date earlier than the Christian era is, perhaps, doubtful. In this connexion it should be observed that the form of the cross-stroke of the A as shown in the photograph may owe something to accidental weathering. On the other hand, the wide-spreading M, sometimes regarded as a sign of early date, is found in the Theodotus inscription from Jerusalem, which seems to be of the Ist century of our era,[3] and in an inscription from Jerash[4] of the year "132" (either A.D. 69 or A.D. 175).

The lunate C and Є are of no assistance in determining the date of an inscription of this character. They appear on Rhodian jar-handles, vases and papyri quite early in the Hellenistic period, as well as on a few inscriptions on stone,[5] though of course, these forms do not become common on monumental inscriptions till the later Roman period. They occur, however, in an inscription from Denderah[6] of the ninth year of Tiberius (23 A.D.) in which the forms of K, M, Y and Φ invite comparison with ours.

[1] *E.g.* Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3] 708, 39 and 880, 50.

[2] Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrh. Pap.*, II, CCLXXXVI, 22; CCXCI, 4; III, 486, 4; 506, 54, and often.

[3] *Syria* I (1920), p. 190 (Clermont-Ganneau) and *R.B.*, 1921, p. 247 (Père Vincent).

[4] *M. u. N.D.P.V.*, 1901, p. 53, No. 9, and *Inscr. gr. ad res rom. pert.*, III, iv, No. 1355. (A squeeze of this inscription belonging to the Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine has been accessible to me.)

[5] *See* Nilsson, "Timbres amphoriques de Lindos," *Bulletin de l'Académie de Danemark*, 1909, p. 175.

[6] *Ann. du Serv. des Ant. de l'Égypte*, XXVI, fasc. 2 (1926), p. 109.

On the whole, it would seem most natural to assign our inscription to the period when Scythopolis, after Pompey's conquest, was one of the cities of the Decapolis.

II. The second inscription, Plate VII, Fig. 3, is cut on the side of a limestone column-drum, now in fragments, which seems to come from the same temple as the capital described above.

This inscription should probably be restored—

| | |
|---|---|
| [Α]ΜΦΟΔ[ΟΥ] | Of the quarter |
| ΔΗΜΗΤ[ΡΙΟΥ] | of Demetrius. |

Though the reading ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ is not absolutely excluded, that which is adopted gives a more symmetrical arrangement of the inscription.

This inscription shows much greater care and regularity than the one described above, but there seems to be enough general similarity between the forms of letters in the two inscriptions to warrant our assigning them to about the same period.

It should be observed that the Δ, with an upward prolongation of one side of the triangle, is of a form common in inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine periods. The prolongation of the diagonal strokes of the Μ should also be noticed. These features also appear in the above-mentioned inscription from Denderâh.

If a date in the Hellenistic period be held inadmissible for either or both of these inscriptions, it would seem likely that the architectural fragments on which they are found were used independently as boundary marks or guide-posts, which could only happen after the destruction of the Hellenistic temple, unless we assume that the building of the temple had been interrupted and some, at least, of its members never set in position.

If, on the other hand, an earlier date can be assigned to the inscriptions, we may suppose them to mark the contributions of each ἄμφοδον to the temple structure.

The chief interest of these inscriptions lies in the mention of two of the amphoda of Scythopolis. The precise significance of this term has been much discussed since the publication by G. Perrot of an inscription from Smyrna of the IIIrd or early IInd century B.C.,[1] in which the inhabitants of an ἄμφοδον (Perrot is surely wrong in taking the nominative to be ἄμφοδος) are assigned a section of

[1] *Rev. Arch.*, XXXII, 1876, pp. 41 *sqq.* Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3] 961.

the town wall to defend. He rightly points out that the word here can only mean a quarter, or *vicus*, though it probably indicates something smaller than what is usually called the quarter of a town, namely, a few lanes and blocks of buildings, enclosed between the main streets. The word occurs frequently in this sense at Oxyrhinchus,[1] but that it could sometimes denote a larger division of the town is implied by the statement[2] that when Hadrian refounded Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina he divided the city into seven amphoda. He appointed private persons as amphodarchs, by whose names the amphoda were called. The Demetrius of our second inscription may thus equally well be a local amphodarch as one of the better-known personages of the name, such as one of the Seleucid kings.

The amphoda were sometimes shut off from the main streets by gates,[3] which recalls the state of affaris in Cairo as late as the 19th century,[4] as is pointed out by Nissen,[5] who draws attention to the identity of the Greek ἄμφοδον with the Oscan *amviannum*, the Latin *vicus*, of Pompeii.[6]

The word itself is scarcely to be found in the classical authors. It appears twice in the LXX[7] rendering the Hebrew אַרְמְנוֹת (A.V., "palaces"). Its meaning was not everywhere the same; at Pergamum it seems to have meant merely a street, the amphodarchs there being the officials' charges with the upkeep of the thoroughfares. Such, at least, is the opinion of Kolbe upon the sense of an inscription from Pergamum which, though of Roman date, reproduces an enactment of one of the Attalid kings of the IInd century B.C.[8]

However this may be, ἄμφοδον seems much more often to indicate a quarter or division of a town. Its relation to other such terms, in particular to the administrative division called ἀμφοδαρχία has been fully discussed by P. Jouguet[9] and by N. Hohlwein.[10] The

[1] Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrh. Pap.*, II, p. 189, n. 12 *et passim*.

[2] *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 254 A. [3] Philo, *Vet. Math.* (Paris, 1693), p. 92 *sq.*

[4] Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (1846), p. 7.

[5] Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien* (1877), p. 505 *sq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 497 *sqq.*, and p. 555. [7] Jer. xvii, 27; xlix, 27.

[8] Kolbe, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII (1902), p. 62; so also Ditt., *Or. Gr. Inscr.*, II, 483, 40 (p. 95, n. 21).

[9] *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, 1911 (*Bibl. des Écoles françaises d'Ath. et de Rome*, fasc. 104), pp. 282 *sqq.*

[10] *L'Égypte romaine*, 1912, p. 95 *sq.*

more recent study of the subject by H. Rink[1] I have, unfortunately, not had the opportunity of seeing.

In conclusion, I would express my obligation to Père F. M. Abel, O.P., for his advice in connexion with the epigraphy of these inscriptions, though he is, of course, not responsible for the view I have taken of their date.

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The two *ἀμφοδον* inscriptions contain several points of interest. The well-cut inscription (*Demetrius*) was, of course, meant to be seen. The one roughly cut on the capital is, I suggest, only intended to guide the builders, the completed column having had ΔΜΦΟΔΟΥ CЄITIKHC (or whatever the name was) neatly cut somewhere else on the outside. Thus the inscription may be no later than the carving of the capital itself.

The special interest of these stones is that they seem to throw light on the meaning of ארביות (Amos ii. 5; Jer. xvii. 27, etc.). I suggest that the best word for this term is "bazar"; it seems to me to give just the flavour of populousness and of commercial activity that is required. As for architectural requirements, what I mean is a *suq*, *i.e.* a collection of shops all of the same trade; the name is also used for the public way through or in front of the building in which the separate shops are. For instance, *sūq ṭawīl* at Beyrout was the name of a long street, on one side of which were shops. Similarly the colt of Mark xi, 4, was tied up by the door on the public way *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφόδου*.

With us, "street" generally means only the public way outside a building, and "block" only means the building, but "Lombard Street" generally refers to the Banks, not to the thoroughfare. "Bazar" (in Arabic سوق) has both meanings. Many bazars can be, and still are, locked up at night, and, as they belong to a single trade, they form an economic unity that can act from time to time, *e.g.* by paying for a carved column in a public temple.

I may add that the constant Syriac rendering for *ἀμφοδον*, both in Mark xi, 4 and in Acts xix, 28 (where it occurs in the margin of the Harclean), is ܫܘܩܐ, the exact equivalent of the Arabic سوق.

F. C. Burkitt.

[1] *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhinchus* (Diss., Giessen, 1924).

## THE LION AND THE CAVERN OF BONES AT PETRA.

By H. J. Orr-Ewing, English Mission Hospital, Jerusalem.

In early April this year I had the privilege of spending three days at Petra. Before leaving, the Reverend Canon J. E. Hanauer, of Jerusalem, asked me to see if I could find and photograph a large lion which, he told me, had been photographed by the late Dr. McKinnon, of Damascus, before the War: but the copies of which were lost. He had not been able to trace any other photographs of the object. At first I thought that he referred to the

well-known tomb with two lions on the way up to the Deir, and this I did photograph; but, upon a second afternoon, I found and photographed the lion, of whose photo I enclose a copy.

The situation of the carving is as follows:—There is a way which descends from the "Place of Sacrifice"—"Zebb 'Atuf"—

steeply to the west, passing a Nabataean inscription, first photographed by Mr. Hornstein, and deciphered for him by the Dominican Fathers. The path then bends round in a rather puzzling manner, and emerges upon a truly magnificent staircase with a carved canopy, all in Petra's rose-red, at the foot of which is a wady in which, on the south-western side, is the temple called "the Keneyseh," and on the north-eastern side opposite is one of the very few temples with a carved interior. If this wady be followed down, it joins the main southern wadi of Petra—not the central wadi which passes from the Sik to the Kasr Firaun—the lion is to be found in the "puzzling bends" between the inscription and the staircase.

It sounds rather complicated but is not so much so really, and I found my way up there next day again without the assistance of the "local brigand" who acted as guide the day before.

The lion is at least 15 feet from nose to root of tail, and 8 feet from the middle of the back to the ground. He quite literally has "his tail up," as will be seen from the photograph; but his head is very much the worse for wear. Indeed, considering that he is carved in the soft red Petra rock, and faces north-west with very little to break the force of the destructive westerly gales and rain, it is surprising that he has survived as well as he has.

The neighbourhood is not rich in tombs, although there is a small one just above (seen in the photograph), and one just opposite, upon the ledge of rock, whence the photograph was taken. I presume that he was carved as a monument to some dead hero, but the position is peculiar as, owing to the configuration of the spot, the statue is only visible from a distance of, perhaps, 15 yards at most. However, I do not doubt that the magnificent stairway was a means of access to Zebb-'Atuf, hence the lion may have been—and probably was—upon the direct route to the "Cathedral of the Edomites."

There is one other point which interested me especially, and puzzled me greatly, in our wanderings at Petra. On our way up to the Deir, via the Hammam, where a percolation of water has formed a little pool and the whole place is a bower of marvellous maiden-hair fern, we were taken by our guide to a cavern, which was literally full of bones—human bones in perfect preservation; only a few of them had been dug out of the earth with which the tomb

or cave was half full, but there were hundreds there, judging by those dug up already and the ends sticking up in the earth. They were all bones of well-formed, but not very tall, adults, *and were all, with three exceptions, leg bones.* There was one skull, one humerus, one scapular; but all the rest were hip bones, femora, tibiae, and a few fibulae. The bones in the earth which were sticking out were similarly all bones belonging to the lower limbs. I am at a loss to account for this human centipede, perhaps some of the readers of the *Q.S.* could enlighten us.

## THE DANISH EXCAVATIONS AT SEILUN— A CORRECTION.

By Professor W. F. Albright, University of Pennsylvania.

On page 87 of Mr. Richardson's paper on "The Site of Shiloh," in the April number of the *Quarterly Statement*, it is said: "The American School has begun excavations on the site Seilun, and so far as I could gather from inquiry or observation nothing has been found which can be ascribed to an earlier period than the Arab occupation." Had the writer of the article enquired at the Department of Antiquities, or of one of the specialists at the various schools of archaeology and biblical research with which Jerusalem is now well provided, an unfortunate slip would have been avoided.

The excavation of Seilun was inaugurated by the Danish scholar, Dr. Aage Schmidt, who made soundings on the site in September, 1922. The results of the soundings are described conveniently in the *Bulletin of the American School*, No. 9 (February, 1923), pp. 10-11. Dr. Schmidt found three strata, Early Iron I, Seleucido-Roman, and Arab. During Early Iron II (period of the Divided Monarchy) the site was not occupied.

Through Dr. Schmidt's indefatigable efforts, accompanied by an unselfish generosity and forgetfulness of self which are as admirable

as they are rare, the excavation of Shiloh was seriously undertaken in the spring of 1926. The Director of the expedition was Mr. Hans Kjaer, a trained and methodical archaeologist, with whom Mr. Christensen was associated as Architect, and Dr. Schmidt as Biblical Adviser. The expedition was purely Danish, and had no affiliation whatsoever with the American School, though our relations were very friendly and mutually helpful. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Kjaer and Dr. Schmidt, the writer was privileged to study the pottery and other materials found at Shiloh, and was able to form a very clear idea of the results. Preliminary accounts have appeared in the Danish press, but unfortunately there are no bibliographic data available in Philadelphia, where this note is written.

The stratigraphic observations of the original *sondages* of Dr. Schmidt have been confirmed and illustrated. The first stratum represents the transition from Late Bronze to Early Iron, and comes down to the period when hand-burnishing was beginning to be replaced by wheel-burnishing. Compared with the results at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah), the pottery of the first stratum at Seilun belongs with the first stratum in the former site, but seems to begin earlier and to continue longer, though it ante-dates Gibeah II (time of Saul) in general. Chronologically expressed, the writer's judgment is that Seilun I covers the period from the thirteenth to the eleventh centuries, while Tell el-Ful I was more restricted and, according to historical evidence, probably flourished only in the 12th century B.C.

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the complicated questions of Palestinian topography. The location of Shiloh at Khirbet Seilun has hitherto seemed an exceptionally simple problem. In fact, the full apparent agreement of biblical, patristic and onomastic indications has always been regarded as so striking that Shiloh-Seilun is to-day one of the corner-stones of biblical topography. It is, however, always well to discuss old and established views, and to subject them to the touchstone of an entirely fresh approach. In this case, fortunately, archaeology is in perfect accord with other data, whereas a visit to Beit Sila shows no traces of ancient occupation. If Mr. Richardson wishes to be entirely convinced, it may be suggested that he collect a few pounds and ask the British School in Jerusalem to make soundings on the site of Beit Sila. Ten pounds would make it possible to dig a number of pits to bed-rock, quite without danger of disturbing hypothetical older strata.

# TELL EN-NASBEH EXPEDITION OF THE PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION.

By Prof. Elihu Grant.[1]

The excavation at Tell en-Nasbeh (781 metres above sea-level), under the direction of Dean W. F. Badè of the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California, is carrying on for its second season. A large sector west of last year's work has been bared to the rock.

The glory of the site is the fine Bronze Age wall (*c.* 1800 B.C.), of which 200 feet additional length have been cleared. Its present height is 25 feet, and it must have risen 20 feet more than that. Its width averages 16 feet, and the lower half of the exterior face on the south was coated with a thick clay plaster. A floor of the same yellow mixture extended outward for about 5 feet from the coating at a point 6 or 8 feet up from the bed-rock. Evidently this plaster or stucco was for the purpose of waterproofing the wall. The moisture seeps through elsewhere from springs within the city. Towers and revetments similar to those described as of last year's discovery have been uncovered in this year's work.

Immediately within this defensive wall was a line of shops, silos, and bins between the great wall and an older city wall belonging to a smaller city. In this inter-mural area was an eight-flue oven, shaped like a tennis racquet with an extra-wide handle, representing the stoke-hole. With its axis line slightly askew in relation to the trace of the older wall are the foundation walls of a temple. A provisional dating of 700 B.C. (±) is assigned the sacred house. All about this region the native rock is honeycombed with cisterns, pits, silos, channels and cuttings. Several tombs were opened, but not for the first time, and contained very few relics.

[1] Prof. Grant, who has received special leave from Haverford to take part in the second period of the work of excavation at Tell en-Nasbeh, has very kindly sent the above informal account of this season's campaign.

Continued work on the cistern area of last year has cleared that portion of the tell of any remaining antiquities. Ballista, the compliments of foes from without, are picked up among the sherds in the city. A few flint knives, needles, bronzed bone, bronze jewellery, a few late coins, figurines, and tons of pottery fragments are coming in. These last give us the greatest amount of work and are, perhaps, the most important of small objects. A few unusual, perhaps even unique, shapes have appeared. The work of assembling jars, jugs, bowls, etc., goes on apace.

Dr. Clarence S. Fisher has taken charge of the pottery interests of the expedition, which ensures excellent attention to this department, besides giving expert advice on all archæological and architectural matters.

The Rev. G. P. Hedley, a graduate student of Berkeley, has charge of photography and registration.

The relations with the local land-owners have been most amicable and satisfactory, and very little trouble has been experienced in the ranks. The local workers from el-Bireh have been particularly satisfactory. We have gladdened the hearts of the farmers by burying their rock-piles, bringing up unsuspected metres of good soil and spreading it invitingly before the gardeners as we clean up a plot of ground. We think that we have arranged the filling and terracing to the satisfaction of the owners of the ground, so that they will be willing to leave the great wall exposed to view. As it forms a splendid terrace wall and boundary in one, we cannot imagine any necessity which would call for covering it up. It is a significant monument of pre-Hebraic Canaan.

Ramallah,

*May* 25, 1927.

[As reported in the daily press (see *The Times* of April 30), the gigantic character of the wall, which Prof. Grant describes, has raised a new question of identification. If the site be Mizpah, it had, as the pottery deposits show, a long pre-Israelite history, going back as early as 3000 B.C. It is understood that Prof. Alt conjectures that Tell en-Nasbeh is the site of King Solomon's treasure city.

More recently the excavators have discovered an exceptionally fine and well-preserved Israelite house of the 7th century B.C., with a street entrance, several rooms, a large stone basin,

a bread trough, and a private cistern behind the house. A large four-handled earthenware pot containing the remains of food was found still embedded in the ashes of the fire-place, just as it was left when the inhabitants departed 2,500 years ago. A wine-press cut out of the living rock was also unearthed. It was in the form of a large square basin, from which the juice of the trodden grapes ran through a channel into a large vat, also carved out of the rock. The section of the city wall now in the process of excavation is 25 ft. 8 in. thick. On account of the success of the operations, the Government of Palestine has requested Prof. Badè to continue his investigations beyond the usual season, and as a result of the generosity of a friend he will carry on until the middle of July. (*The Times*, June 10.)]

## EXEGETICAL NOTES.

By Dr. Samuel Daiches.

### I.

*Judges xx*, 16.

This verse is regarded as difficult. If אטר יד־ימינו means "bound, restricted, as to his right hand," it is strange that men with such a physical defect should be selected and formed into a special corps. *See* commentaries, especially G. F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, second edition, pp. 94 and 431. On p. 94 Moore says: "In Judges xx, 16, however, the writer cannot mean that the 700 Benjamite slingers, this *corps d'élite*, were all maimed or deformed."

I suggest that the selection was made, not on the ground of the superiority of these 700 men, but of their inferiority. All the other men were able-bodied warriors who "drew sword" (שלף חרב, *v.* 15), *i.e.* who could draw the sword. There were, however, among the Benjamites men who could not use their right hand, and therefore could not draw the sword, a performance which required skill and force. These men were trained to sling stones, and they acquired such great skill in this mode of attack that they did not miss a hair-breadth. And *v.* 16 relates the fact that there were 700 such stone-slingers. These 700 men formed not a *corps d'élite*, but an auxiliary corps. We hear nowadays of bantam regiments. In the Great War many men who were not fit for the fighting line were placed in the Army Service Corps or similar auxiliary regiments. The same happened in olden times. Men who were not fit for the usual war-work were given lighter duties. This suggestion, I submit, explains satisfactorily Judges xx, 16.

We can, now, it seems to me, understand more fully Judges iii, 15 ff. Ehud, being איש אטר יד־ימינו, was not expected to use a sword. Therefore he was chosen for bringing the present to the King of Moab, who would not suspect any murderous attack on the

part of a man whose right hand was contracted. Verse 21 seems to show that Ehud had a difficulty in handling the sword and achieving his object. The words כי לא שלף החרב מבטנו in *v.* 22 seem to confirm this assumption. Ehud "drew not the sword out of his (Eglon's) belly" because he *could not* draw the sword. Ehud, being איש אטר ידימינו, was not a שלף חרב.

1 Chronicles xii, 2, shows that Benjamites were skilful in slinging stones and shooting arrows from the bows, using the right hand and the left hand. It may be that some could use the right hand and some could use only the left hand. Even those who could use the right hand may have had a certain weakness in the right hand which prevented them from using other weapons of war as the sword or the spear. It is interesting to note that they were called "helpers of the war" (*v.* 1). They were not "such as were able to go out in the host, that could set the battle in array, with all manner of instruments of war" (*v.* 34, see also *vv.* 36, 37 and 38; cf. also *vv.* 25 and 35). They were only auxiliaries. The same idea is implied in Judges xx, 16.

## II.

### *Jeremiah* xxii, 23.

מה־נחנת (in 23b) is difficult (see commentaries). "How greatly to be pitied shalt thou be," or "how wilt thou groan," gives no sense. I suggest that נחנת comes from חנה, "to incline," "to bend" (see Gesenius' *Lexicon* (Oxford edition), p. 333). Compare the phrase חנות היום in Judges xix, 9, and see Burney's *Commentary on Judges*, p. 462. נחנת would then have to be read נָחֲנֶת. It may be that the root is חנן = חנה, in which case the reading נָחַנְתְּ could be retained. Whether we read the word נָחֲנֶת or נָחַנְתְּ, the meaning of מה־נחנת would be: "how art thou bent." The verse would give an excellent sense: "Thou that sittest in the Lebanon, that makest thy nest in the cedars, how bent art thou (or: shalt thou be) when pangs come upon thee, the pain as of a woman in travail!" The contrast is telling. Instead of sitting proudly high in the cedars of the Lebanon, she will be bent, and crouch like a woman in travail.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

*Note on the Technical System of the Survey of Palestine.* By Captain C. H. Ley, C.B.E., Director of Surveys. Published by the Government of Palestine, January, 1927. P.T. 10.

The first beginning of the modern surveys of Palestine dates from the year after the founding of the P.E.F. In 1866, Captain Wilson and Lieutenant Anderson carried out an extended reconnaissance of the country, based upon forty-nine astronomical positions, and on these positions were plotted a series of reconnaissance maps, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile, "of the backbone of the country from north to south, including the Sea of Galilee." Then came the deliberate 1-inch survey of Palestine, with which the names of Conder, Drake, Armstrong and Kitchener will ever be associated. This memorable survey was in progress in the field from November, 1871, to September, 1877. Then came Conder's partial surveys of the country to the east of the Jordan; these were carried out in 1881–82. After this, nothing of importance was done until 1913–14, when Captain S. F. Newcombe carried out a reconnaissance survey, on the $\frac{1}{4}$-inch scale, of the Negeb, or Desert south of Beersheba. And then came the War; and, in connection with Allenby's strikingly successful campaign, a considerable amount of topographical work was executed on the 2-inch and larger scales, depending, to a large extent, on air photographs.

Up to this point the objects of the various surveys were mainly archaeological or military. But, with the acceptance by Great Britain of a mandate for Palestine, new needs arose, and it became necessary, for good administration, that a reliable large-scale survey should be undertaken—a cadastral survey for the demarcation and record of properties—and these objects are the ultimate reason for the present activities of the Survey Department of Palestine, which is carrying out its operations under the direction of Captain C. H. Ley.

By order of the Government of Palestine, Captain Ley has recently published a *Note on the Technical System of the Survey of Palestine*, which contains much interesting information. The Major Triangulation covers the country with a net-work of a hundred points. The average length of a side of this net-work is a little over 8 miles, and the average triangular error, that is, the sum of the three errors of the angles of a triangle, is less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. Now, if it is considered that a second is about the angle which a threepenny bit subtends at a distance of a mile, it will be seen that the Major Triangulation is of amply sufficient accuracy. The triangulation depends on two bases: one measured at Imara in the South, and the other at Semakh, close to the Sea of Galilee, in the North. Depending on this net-work are a third and a fourth order triangulation, with errors of 5 and 10 seconds respectively, and lengths of sides of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. Then there follows a graphic triangulation, and then the detailed work of the survey. A clear account is given as to how the minor work is tied on to and adjusted to the major.

Captain Ley remarks that the ultimate object of the Survey is "the economical production of large-scale plans, correctly showing each individual parcel of land as registered," and he further says that the more immediate object of the Survey is "the production of large-scale topographic plans, in advance of Settlement, with the fixation in plan and upon the ground of a sufficient framework of permanent points to facilitate future property demarcation." The standard scale for all the more fertile areas of the plains is the 1/2,500, or about 25 inches to the mile. Smaller scales will be used for the hilly areas and larger scales for the towns. The large-scale sheets are being reduced to the scale of 1/20,000 (about 3 inches to 1 mile), and these sheets can be quickly converted into a topographical series by completion with approximate contours; as there are available a great number of trigonometrical heights, the conversion should be easy.

The report contains much other interesting technical information, and is well illustrated with diagrams. Of course, such an elaborate undertaking must be many years before it is completed, but it is clear that the survey as described in Captain Ley's report will eventually be of very great value, not only for the administrative objects which called it into being, but also for those other

wider purposes which the P.E.F. was founded to subserve. It would be well if arrangements could be made to obtain for the Fund copies of all published sheets of the new survey, especially those on topographical scales and the large-scale maps of the towns; but there is, perhaps, no reason why we should not store copies of every published sheet. We wish all success, in their interesting and important labours, to Captain Ley and his staff.

C. F. C.

*When We Lived in Jerusalem.* By Estelle Blyth. London: John Murray. Pp. 348, 8 illustrations. 1927. 12*s*.

The author of this book needs no introduction to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. Miss Blyth states that "this book is written principally for those who knew Jerusalem in the days before the war." "The war has cleft a chasm between the old world and that of to-day; an entirely different manner of life has arisen in Palestine since the British occupation." There certainly was an abrupt termination of the old manner of life in 1914, but the change is probably somewhat superficial, and largely brought about by influences which were bound, in any event, to make themselves felt in time. But certainly old residents should all read this book, especially such chapters as "Our Household in Jerusalem" and "Odds and Ends." They will recall many incidents, amusing or tragic, now gilded by the tender glory of memory. It is not easy to write of so intimate a life as that lived in the small circle of foreign residents before the war, in an atmosphere of partisanship and often narrow views, without hurting someone's sensibilities. Yet one would venture to say that no word in this book could, through want of sympathy or a desire to amuse, give offence.

The introductory chapter gives an affectionate and filial sketch of Bishop Blyth, who so very literally laid the foundations of the present Bishopric of Jerusalem. "From the first he saw that there could be no real permanence for work housed in hired quarters." He builded better than he knew. What would be the position of the Anglican Bishopric to-day had he not planned with so much foresight to provide the necessary buildings? Brief as is Miss Blyth's account of her father's activities during his long tenure of office in Jerusalem (1887–1914), it is one which will be read with pleasure by all those who knew him best.

The other chapters cover a wide field. They tell of many features—like the Russian pilgrimage each spring, the pre-war rivalry in Palestine between France and Germany, and the iniquities of the Turkish rule—which have now passed away. It is a strange change that the palatial Stiftung of the Kaiserin Augusta Victoria on the Mount of Olives made professedly—and indeed so used for a time before the war—as a sanatorium for European colonists and missionaries, should, only seven years since its opening, become the centre of British administration in Palestine. And yet the present writer heard that in all seriousness foretold by a German professor without these very walls.

But while much in the volume refers to the changes, other chapters emphasise the immemorial customs of the East, which are likely to survive all the present inrush of modern life. It is a fair description of the book to say, in the words of the publisher's introduction: "The book's chief interest lies in the clear, accurate, and authoritative picture it conveys of life and affairs in pre-war Palestine, with which the writer had an unusually intimate acquaintance."

E. W. G. M.

*Walks in and around Jerusalem.* By the Rev. Canon Hanauer, with an Introduction by Professor R. A. S. Macalister. Second and revised Edition. London: Church Mission to the Jews, 16, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1926. 6*s.* 6*d.*

The second edition of this well-known book presents features of special usefulness. Professor Macalister's Introduction should commend it to many who have no personal knowledge of the author himself. To such the former's words—coming, too, from one profoundly differing on some theoretical points of topography—should prove arresting:—"Few men can know Jerusalem better than Canon Hanauer; in comparison with his knowledge my own is but scanty and superficial." "To walk around Jerusalem in the company of Canon Hanauer is an inspiration, though, at the same time, the disciple cannot but feel discouraged by the unattainable standard set by the master." The present writer would like to join in all said by Professor Macalister. No street, no house, no stone in Jerusalem is passed by Canon Hanauer without keen observation and remark. He loves them all, and speaks from the experience of a long life lived among them all.

The merit of this new edition lies in its portable (pocket) size, its excellent paper, and in its increased number of unique photographs. In this last respect it is greatly ahead of all the regular guide-books. It is, too, a storehouse of curious information, much of which the tourist will never hear from the ordinary dragoman nor read in any guide.

Canon Hanauer's views of "Ophel" and "Zion" are here set forth at some length; they are the views which were held by all authorities in Jerusalem half a century ago, and he has not yet seen evidence convincing enough to change them. Such convincing evidence we are now seeking to obtain on the site itself.

In view of the probability of a reprint of this popular book, we would like to call attention to the misprint "Canneau" for "Ganneau" (p. 211) and "ewan" for "lewan" (p. 374). The index, too, might be more comprehensive.

E. W. G. M.

## THE DESTRUCTION OF JERICHO:

### A CORRECTION.

In the article by Professor Garstang on the Date of the Destruction of Jericho, in the April *Q.S.*, there is a misprint which most readers will already have noticed. On p. 100, l. 18, *for* "1100 B.C." *read* "1700 B.C." as is required by his argument that the destruction of the "red" city lay in the period 150 years or more before and after 1550 B.C.

THE

# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

Mr. Crowfoot writes that he is closing down the excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley at the end of September, and he hopes to be in England by the middle of October. Apart from the fall of a wall which severely bruised some of the workmen, but happily was without serious consequences, though it caused some delay, the work has proceeded regularly.

The very encouraging results obtained during this season, and especially those obtained the last few weeks, have determined the Committee to plan for another season's work next year. We hope that this important decision will stimulate our members and subscribers to greater efforts in financial support. The Committee also hope that it will be possible to arrange for a public lecture by Mr. Crowfoot during the coming autumn upon the results of his work.

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We publish the translation, furnished by Colonel Sir Charles Close, of part of a letter, dated August 22, 1927, written to Dr. Masterman by Père Vincent, the greatest living authority on the topography of Jerusalem. This shows us his opinion of the skill with which Mr. Crowfoot has carried out his difficult work, and the importance of the discoveries made as bearing on the Topography and History of Jerusalem. He writes as follows :—

" Permit me, my dear Doctor, to add the testimony of my enthusiastic admiration for the campaign of excavation now in progress to the west of Ophel. From the technical excavation point of view, nothing more difficult has been carried out since the

work of the much-regretted Warren in the subterranean galleries near the Haram. When the recent undertaking was begun, one might have thought that it would be easy enough to cut a great trench across the Tyropoeon which would determine for us, scientifically, the true rock surface and the western escarpment of the Hill of Ophel. But the material difficulties which arose from the very commencement of the work made me fear at one time that it could only be carried out at the cost of an unreasonable enlargement of the excavation, with the result of multiplying the cost some three to five times. The technical ability of Messrs. Crowfoot and FitzGerald, and their real courage in the conduct of extremely dangerous operations, have triumphed over all these difficulties, with a minimum of expense, in a way which I shall always marvel at. In the course of a few days the profile of the rock in the Tyropoeon will be known and surveyed minutely. This information will be of inestimable value for the discussion of the site and of the history of the City of David, not to speak of the Byzantine, Maccabean, and other monuments of more ancient date, brought to light by this toilsome and splendid excavation. Those who may, in the future, read the reports of the operation will never guess the real merits of the two archaeologists who have directed it, or of the P.E.F. which caused it to be carried out. Having closely followed the course of the excavations on the spot, I feel that I must express my whole-hearted admiration."

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After careful consideration of the strongly expressed adverse views of several old subscribers, the Executive Committee have decided to abandon definitely any idea of changing the form of the *Quarterly Statement*.

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It is evident that the earthquake which occurred in Palestine about 3 p.m. on July 11 was one of considerable severity—the worst within living memory in Palestine. The material damage was in places severe : the loss of life, though considerable, was very much less than it would have been had the shock occurred at night. All the reports show how very unevenly the violence of the earthquake was distributed. One of the most damaged areas was the Mount of Olives. Here the large German *Stiftung*, which has been so long rented by the British Government as Government Offices, was so

damaged that it has been evacuated and no one is allowed in it: one Russian servant was killed in the premises. The Hebrew University is badly damaged. The Russian Convent, the Paternoster Church, and Carmelite Convent are all injured. The Mosque and Minaret on the traditional site of the Ascension fell. In Jerusalem itself the buildings in the Haram escaped serious damage, but the Greek Cathedral in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is so badly cracked that it will need to be entirely re-built. There was considerable damage to private buildings. Nablus suffered very severely, as many of the poorly built three- and four-storied houses collapsed. Had this occurred at night the loss of life would have been very great. As it is, little short of a hundred were killed, and three times as many were injured. Ludd (Lydda) suffered severely: 40 were killed and nearly 500 houses are completely ruined. At Ramleh 14 were killed and many houses were destroyed: the Russian building and the Greek and Latin Convent were injured. The large Mosque, once a Crusading Church, is cracked. In Abu Deis, the well-known village opposite Bethany, near the Jericho road, only three were killed, but all the larger houses are destroyed. The damage does not appear to have been so great further north, but it is stated that the well-known village of Reineh (on the high road between Nazareth and Kefr Kenna) has been so seriously damaged that the villagers are contemplating re-building on a new site. East of the Jordan there was great destruction at es-Salt and at Amman. While the apathy of the sufferers in many places has been extreme, the local Government Authorities and private helpers have done, and are doing, a noble work in trying to help the homeless and the injured.

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We have received, through the courtesy of the Director of Agriculture and Forests in the Palestine Government, the summary for Meteorological Observations made during the year 1926. The official observations on Temperature of the Air, Relative Humidity, Vapour Pressure, Cloud and Wind are made at Jerusalem, Jericho, Haifa, Jenin, Gaza and Beersheba, and a number of observations made at non-official stations are included in the summary. A comparison of the rainfall during the last five years, with the mean annual rainfall of 25 previous years, shows that from 1921 to 1926 the rainfall has at all stations in Palestine been scanty. Thus the rainfall in Jerusalem for 1925–26 was 356 mm. (14 inches), as

compared with 570 mm. (23 inches), the average for 25 years. The rainfall in the north of Palestine is uniformly higher. The rainfall at Haifa is 714·5 mm. (28½ inches), at Nazareth (non-official) 716·3 mm. (28·7 inches), and at Safed 880·1 mm. (35·2 inches). On the other hand, at Beersheba it was only 187·7 mm. (7·5 inches), and at Jericho 146·8 mm. (5·8 inches). The mean summer maximum temperatures (Centigrade) were 30·5 (June) in Jerusalem, 31·7 (August) in Haifa, 32·7 (June) in Jenin, 29·5 (July) in Gaza, 34·1 (June) in Beersheba, and 40·5 (June) in Jericho. But it is impossible in a short note to give any adequate indication of the detailed observations here recorded, and those interested should consult the tables themselves, which may be seen at the office, 2, Hinde Street.

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Prof. Alt writes to correct the statement on p. 160 above, that he had conjectured that Tell en-Nasbeh was the site of King Solomon's treasure city. What he had really said was concerned only with some weighty arguments for Tell en-Nasbeh being identical with Gibeon (see *Palästina-Jahrbuch* for 1926, pp. 10 *sqq.*).

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In Mr. Crowfoot's report on p. 146, tenth line of the middle paragraph, read "these" for "those," and on p. 147, last line of the first paragraph, read "rock" for "road." It should have been mentioned that Plates I and II are from the American Colony Stores, while Plates III to V are by Mr. Crowfoot himself.

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By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt dealing with that Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

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**Subscribers in the United States** are asked to kindly note that subscriptions should be forwarded to the Hon. General Secretary, Prof. W. M. Randall, of 55, Elizabeth Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

*Antiques for Sale.*—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates, including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

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The Committee are glad to report that the *Annual*, 1923–5, on the Ophel Excavations has been published and is now on sale. The price is £2 2*s*. to non-subscribers.

The account is by the excavators, Prof. Macalister, Litt.D., and the Rev. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., and consists of four chapters on the Narrative, the Rock Surface, Rock-cuttings and Constructions and Miscellaneous Finds, with an Appendix on Greek Inscriptions stamped upon Jar-handles (pp. 1–212). There are two important maps, an air-photograph of Mount Ophel, 26 plates and 217 illustrations. The maps, which were prepared under the supervision of Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.S., the Fund's Honorary Treasurer, show the results of all the excavations made upon the Ophel ridge during the last sixty years.

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An announcement of the reprint of Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, was made in the January *Quarterly Statement*. It is now on sale at 4*s*. bound in cloth, and 2*s*. 6*d*. in paper covers.

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The new plan of Jerusalem, on a scale of approximately 1 : 5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5*s*. Mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9*s*. The latter form is the more convenient, as, owing to its size, the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

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The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 175 *sq.*

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The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

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It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

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The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contribution towards the Ophel excavations from :—

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| George Mathieson, Esq. ... ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| James Melrose, Esq. ... ... ... | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |

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A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

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The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

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Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Hartford College, Conn., U.S.A.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, April, 1927 : The late Prof. Édouard Naville, by Dr. Hall ; making a mummy, by W. R. Dawson ; the chronology of the Roman emperors from Valerian to Diocletian, by H. Mattingly.

*The Near East and India*, June 30 : The rebuilding of Palestine ; August 25 : Problems of Palestine.

*The Expository Times.*

*Palestine, the Chosen Land.* By Edward A. Annett (Christian Literature Society for India, 1927).

*The New Judaea*, July 29 : Agricultural conditions in Palestine, by Sir E. J. Russell.

*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, August, 1927.

*The Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania*, June : The expedition at Ur of the Chaldees.

*The American Journal of Philology*, xlviii, 2 : The testimony of Josephus to Christianity, by Claude Pharr.

*The Homiletic Review.*

*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, April : Babylonian and Egyptian triads, by S. A. B. Mercer ; the Cappadocian tablets in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, by F. J. Stephens.

*Jewish Quarterly Review*, July : An eleventh-century source for the history of Jewish scientists in Mohammedan countries (Ibn Sa'id), by Joshua Finkel.

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, June : Arabia To-day : An Essay in Contemporary History, by James A. Montgomery.

*Syria : Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, viii, 2 : An Egyptian king of Byblus under the Twelfth Dynasty, by Pierre Montet ; excavations at Byblus, by Maurice Dunand, M. Pillet, and René Dussaud ; the excavations of the French Archaeological School at Jerusalem conducted at Nerab, September 24–November 5, 1926, by B. Carrière and A. Barrois ; two Phoenician Altars, by Franz Cumont ; the Chellian station of Khillaleh, near Latakiah, by E. Passemard ; Juridical condition of Coele-Syria in the time of Ptolemy V, by Edouard Cuq.

*Revue Biblique*, July : Some Himyarite inscriptions, by G. Ryckmans ; Mirabel and the tower of Aphek, by F.-M. Abel ; a forgotten Jewish colony, by L.-H. Vincent ; archaeology in Palestine in 1926, by L.-H. Vincent.

*Journal Asiatique*, July–September, 1926: Some probable remains of "Mediterranean" words in Semitic, and especially Canaanite, by M. Ch. Autran.

*Biblica*, July–September: Agricultural conditions around Lake Gennesaret, by J. Sonnen; Amraphel, etc., in Gen. xiv, by A. Deimel; notes on the excavations at Shechem and Tell Jemmeh, by A. Mallon.

*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1927, 1–2: A Galilaean list of names in Joshua xix, by A. Alt.

*Die Palästina-Literatur*, iv, 1 and 2 (Literature for 1915–24). By Peter Thomsen. (Heinrichs, Leipzig.)

*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, September: Ḫabiru and the Hebrews, by J. Lewy.

*Bible Lands.*

*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vii, 1–2: Mohammedan saints and sanctuaries in Palestine (*cont.*), by T. Canaan; newly discovered dolmens in West Palestine, by A. E. Mader; Sappho and Arūs, by F.-M. Abel.

*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, April: Excavation of Tell en-Nasbeh, by Dean W. F. Badè.

*Department of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries, Palestine: Annual Report*, 1926, by E. R. Sawer, Director of Agriculture and Forests.

*Palestine Museum:* Bulletin No. 2.

*Zionist Organisation: Institute of Agriculture and Natural History.* Bulletin No. 6: On the vegetation of Palestine. Bulletin No. 7: A second contribution to the knowledge of the flora of Palestine, by A. Eig.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

*La Revue de l'Académie à Damas*, July–August: Un voyage à Alep et à Damas au 8th S., by M. Al-Maghribi; inscriptions palmyreniennes, by Emir Jaffar el-Hassani.

*Al-Mashrik*, July: Journal de J. S. Assémani au Liban en 1736, by P. Louis Boleibel; les sanatoriums au Liban, by Dr. Taoufiq Salhab. August: La villégiature de Hammana, by P. F. Taoutel; une excursion dans le Kisraouan, by P. Antoine Chibli.

Presented by Mr. Pilcher:—

*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

*The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.*

*The Quarterly Statement*, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

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## Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of_____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

# SECOND REPORT OF THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE TYROPOEON VALLEY.

By J. W. Crowfoot.

1. On July 12 rock was reached some 12 metres below the surface at a spot about 9 metres west of the pathway and 16 metres south of the northern boundary of Field 10. On the following day rock was exposed over a total area measuring over 10 metres from east to west and, in its widest part, some 5 metres from north to south. To clear a greater extent of rock at this end of the excavation would involve the destruction of the surrounding walls, an operation which would be certainly difficult and probably unprofitable.

2. Unlike the present ground-level in which there is no fall, the rock here slopes steadily westwards towards the old valley-bed with a fall of about 1 in 6, though actually the highest point yet found is a hump about 3 metres west of the path; the lowest point, apart from one or two pockets, is 7·70 metres further west and 12·80 metres below our ground-level (= the level at the north end of our excavations or 2289·2 above sea-level). From the levels given on Plate II in the P.E.F. *Annual*, No. 4, it would appear that there is a very steep rise between the rock in Field 10 and the rock at the western limit of Mr. Duncan's work, possibly resulting from a perpendicular scarp under the path.

On the rock surface we have exposed there are a few cuttings which look artificial, a doubtful "cup-mark" near the highest hump, and two or three irregular pits or pockets which may have been used for storage purposes in the Bronze Age or earlier.

3. The walls which rest directly, or nearly directly, on the rock fall into three groups or periods, which we propose to identify provisionally, on grounds which will be explained later, with

(1) The 2nd century B.C.—the time of the wars between the Maccabees and the Syrian kings.
(2) The period from the 2nd to the 4th century A.D.
(3) The Byzantine period of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

4. The walls we assign to the first of these groups consist of two very massive structures which look like the sides of a great gate in a wall running along the west side of the City of David. This gateway is 3·50 metres wide, the walls on each side of it are more than 7·50 metres (over 24 feet) thick, and when discovered they were still standing to a height of 7 metres above the rock. The line of walling in which this gate was made runs N.N.E., following roughly the line of the present pathway which may conceal the scarp above which, it has been supposed, the west wall of the old Jebusite fortress once rested. We cannot say at present quite how far north and south it will be possible to trace the walls on each side of the gate: to the north the line of walling is visible for about 5 metres, but the existence beyond this point of a Byzantine cistern and of the main sewer from the north-west will probably prevent much further investigation on this side; to the south, however, we hope eventually to be able to follow the wall, if it continues, to the limit of our field, some 20 metres away. (We have now found a corner 19 metres south of the gate, the wall returning east at this point.—August 30.)

The style of the masonry is massive but poor, with occasional patches of better workmanship. The stones are laid in courses which vary in height from about 30 cm. to about 50 cm., the latter height being the commoner. Several individual stones are of a considerable size, some of them measuring more than 125 cm. in length. Two kinds of stone are used, the hard limestone locally known as *mizzi helu* and the softer granular limestone called *maliki*, of the former of which the rock below these walls is formed. The *mizzi* stones in these walls are not dressed, and where many of them are used irregularities in coursing are made up with smaller blocks; the *maliki* stones, on the other hand, were roughly hewn into rectangular shape and, as a rule, still more roughly dressed with a broad adze in a style characteristic of the Maccabean period.[1] Some of the stones in the northern part of the two walls, notably a voussoir block, have come from some earlier building, and the character of the masonry is very uneven; it is certainly neither Herodian nor Roman in style, and still less does it resemble that of the Byzantine

[1] I owe this information to Père Vincent, who tells me, however, that the same tool may have been used as early as the Persian period, *i.e.* the time of Nehemiah.

period. The massiveness of the building suggests that the gate is one of the gates of the ancient city wall, but the tooling of individual blocks and the indifferent and patchy craftsmanship of the whole are most easily explicable on the hypothesis that these walls, or rather the face which we have uncovered, are the work of Syrians or Maccabeans in the troubled period of the 2nd century B.C.

This late date is consistent also with the character of the objects found between and in front of the walls.

Some of the stones at the west end of the walls rest directly on the rock, but 3 or 4 metres back there is a filling of earth and stones between the rising rock and the lowest courses of the building, and it is probable that the floor-level of the valley was at least 2 metres above the rock when these walls were laid. Close to the rock surface potsherds of the early Iron Age were found, and a few ledge-handled fragments, for example, which may go back to the Bronze Age, but not far above these, a little more than a metre above the rock, a hoard of some 300 coins belonging to the reigns of John Hyrcanus I and King Alexander Jannaeus was found,[1] besides a few Rhodian jar-handles and fragments of other Hellenistic fabrics. This evidence therefore suggests that it was in about the 2nd century B.C. that the builders or rebuilders of these walls cut through or disturbed a deposit which had accumulated in the course of the previous millennium to the height of a metre or so above the rock.

No definite traces of a road level or of any paving blocks were found, but this is not surprising, since the gate fell into disuse and was blocked up as we shall see in the next paragraph.

5. The second group of walls appear to be from two to four centuries later. The great wall, though parts of it are still 7 metres high, had long been in ruins, and the level of the valley had no doubt been rising gradually. The next stage in the history of the Tyropoeon, so far as we have unravelled it, is marked by the construction of two rectangular chambers (Nos. 40 and 43) west of the gateway, which was now blocked up with a wall some 2 metres thick. The first of these (No. 40) abutted directly on the old gateway; the second (No. 43) abutted on the west wall of the first. The wall which blocked the gateway and formed part of the east wall of No. 40, was some 2 metres thick and went down to the rock; the south and west

[1] On these, *see* the note, p. 184, by Mr. C. Lambert.

walls of this chamber also went down to the rock, but the north wall came to an end 2 metres above rock-level. In room 43 the north-west and south walls ended even higher. All the walls were standing up to the 8-metre level above the rock, and as there was no entrance in any of them they were clearly nothing but foundation walls for buildings on a new level of occupation at this height above the rock. In the wall across the gate a number of *maliki* blocks from the old wall had been used, the other walls were mainly built of *mizzi* stones, the masonry was very poor and the facing uneven; some Roman potsherds were found built into the middle of one of these walls about 2 metres above the rock, so the chambers can hardly have been constructed before the 2nd century A.D. It is possible that the walls in question are even later and owed their existence to an increase in the population of Jerusalem after the time of Constantine and Helena, but all traces of the houses which rested above them were swept away by periods of still greater building activity in the two succeeding centuries connected with the names of Eudocia and Justinian, respectively.

6. The two chambers mentioned in the last section were built on the same axis as the great wall system against which they abutted, which is approximately the same as that of the modern pathway, and corresponds to the natural line of this section of the valley. The third group of walls belong to a building on the same axis as the Byzantine street which ignored the bends in the valley and made a straight line from the Pool of Siloam to the west wall of the Temple area. The two walls in this part of our excavation which belong to this group are the foundation walls of the south wall and of part of the east wall in room 21, in the House of Anastasius. These walls also run down very nearly to rock-level, but they are much better built than those mentioned in paragraph 5; they are entirely built of *mizzi* blocks of many sizes but laid in regular courses and brought to a good even face. In character and layout they are obviously a work of the builders who built the long foundation wall under the middle of the row of houses west of the street, and they will be discussed when the substructure of the street and the adjoining houses on that level have been completely excavated.

7. Rock-level, which may be regarded as the final stage of our work, has been reached in so small a section of our field at present that it may seem rash to generalize yet about the history of the valley;

the following tentative reconstruction is put forward more as matter for future criticism than for any other purpose:

Originally it appears there was a precipitous scarp, perhaps 6 metres high, under or near the present path; west of this the rock sloped steadily towards the bottom of the valley some 30 metres away.[1]

Though there was some natural accumulation of detritus in the valley, there was no great change in the contour until the massive fortifications we have described in paragraph 4 were built. These walls were more than 7 metres thick and towered high, no doubt, above any buildings on the hill behind. It was this construction which first modified profoundly the contour of the valley by reducing its width.

In the course of the long series of disasters which befell Jerusalem between the time of the Maccabees and the time of Hadrian, these massive walls fell into ruin, and when Jerusalem revived between the 2nd and the 4th centuries of our era the builders pushed out their constructions on a new level, building partly on the top of the remains of the older walls, partly on the talus which had spread from them towards the middle of the valley. The new level was about 8 metres above the original rock-level.

Jerusalem continued to flourish for another century or so; the buildings mentioned in the preceding paragraph were scrapped, and a new street with more houses on either side was constructed upon the same level but on a different axis. These houses certainly jutted still further down into the valley, but we are not able yet to say how far they went or what had now become of the valley-bed.

*July* 18, 1927.

*Postscript.*

Since the above was written the excavations have been carried further into the valley and to a much greater depth. The greatest depth at which we have reached rock is 17·70 metres (over 57 feet) below our ground-level at a point some 20 metres south of our northern boundary and 32 metres due west of the path.

The finds of most general interest are the following:—

(1) The complex of buildings directly connected with the Byzantine street continued up to a line just east of the point above

[1] There is no artificial scarp: the rock slopes down naturally with a fall of about 1 in 1.—September 10, 1927.

The photograph (August 4) shows the Byzantine street. The arch supported the second chamber in one of the houses in the street, and formed a room on a lower level once used as a stable. The levelling staff held against the back of the excavation is 4·26 m. (nearly 14 feet) in height.

[To face p. 182.]

The same as before (taken August 17). The arch and most of the lower level Byzantine buildings have been demolished. In the middle is a pre-Byzantine cistern, the bottom of which was about 10 feet below the lower Byzantine floor.

Threshold, mosaics and cistern on west side of continuation of the Byzantine street (excavated in June), the paving of which is shown beyond the threshold.

To face Plate II.

Subterranean Maccabean cellar (August 22). It is approached by a flight of nine steps from a level which underlies the tumbled stones connected above with the destruction in the time of Titus. The sofit of the door is about 44 feet below ground-level, the floor of the cellar is about 50 feet below ground-level, and the rock has been found another 8 feet lower. The ground here is rather dangerous and it was necessary to close it up with timber. Another Maccabean doorway has since been found on the level of the top of the steps. The tooling on the masonry is like that on the big Gate.

mentioned, and the low level of occupation in the valley then, which formed a basement story to the houses opening on the street above, was about 9·50 metres below our ground-level.

(2) West of this point and at a level some 3·50 metres deeper (say, 42 feet below ground-level), there are more traces of Maccabean or Hellenistic building, including a flight of nine steps leading to two doorways (Plate IV) which may have opened into cellars, and a third doorway above them, above the level of the top step.

(3) At the other end of our excavation the southern wall of the great gateway has been followed south for 19 metres (over 61 feet), and at this point a corner is visible showing that the wall here turned to the east. It would appear, therefore, that this wall belongs to a massive bastion protecting the gateway, and it seems to us more and more probable that the "Maccabean" masonry which we have found masks a building of much greater antiquity. It seems to us unlikely that these immense walls, more than 24 feet thick, should have been designed in the Hellenistic period merely to protect a foreign garrison in a position of great natural strength. Walls of these dimensions it is surely more reasonable to regard as city walls. If this be granted, it may be concluded that the kernel of these walls is to be carried back through Nehemiah to the Hebrew Monarchy, and even earlier, for between our excavations and the most westerly point excavated in Field 9 there is no room for any other wall of equal dimensions on the west of the City of David.

*September* 1, 1927.

# A HOARD OF JEWISH BRONZE COINS FROM OPHEL.

By C. Lambert.

*Summary.*

| | Coins. |
|---|---|
| John Hyrcanus I (135–104 B.C.) ... ... ... | 4 |
| Uncertain King (probably John Hyrcanus I) ... | 4 |
| Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.)... ... ... | 303 |
| Types obliterated ... ... ... ... ... | 8 |
| Total ... ... | 319 |

*Description.*

| No. | Obverse. | Reverse. | B.M.C.[1] Page No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | John Hyrcanus I. | | |
| 1 | Inscription in wreath (with A). | Double cornucopiae; dotted border. | 188 |
| | A<br>יהוחנן<br>הכהנהגד<br>להחברהי<br>הודים | | |
| 2 | Inscription in wreath (without A). | ,, ,, | 190 |
| | הוח .<br>נהכ. | | |
| 3 | As 2. | ,, ,, | ,, |
| | יהוח . .<br>הכהן -<br>- ח -<br>- | | |
| 4 | As 2. | ,, ,, | ,, |
| | - ו ו<br>. -<br>- ברה<br>- הדי . . | | |

[1] The references are to the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Palestine.

*Description*—contd.

| No. | Obverse. | Reverse. | B.M.C.[1] Page No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | UNCERTAIN KING. | |
| 5–8 | Inscription in wreath (illegible). | Double cornucopiae; dotted border. | 190 |
| | | ALEXANDER JANNAEUS. | |
| 9 | Anchor; around, Greek inscription; dotted border.<br>– – ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ – | Wheel; between spokes, Hebrew inscription.<br>ינתן המלך | (unpublished ?) |
| 10 | As 9.<br>– – ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ – | As 9.<br>י . . ן המלך | ,, |
| 11 | As 9.<br>ΒΑΣΙΛΕ – – | As 9.<br>– – – ינת | ,, |
| 12 | As 9.<br>ΒΑΣΙΛ . . . ΑΛΕ – – | As 9.<br>ינתן המלך | ,, |
| 13–295 | As 9 (inscriptions only partly legible).<br>ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ | As 9, but with portions of the usual inscription where legible.<br>יהונתן המלך | 207 (Series F). |
| 296–299 | As 9. | Wheel, but spokes represented by pellets; no inscription visible. | 209 |
| 300–305 | Anchor in broad circle; around, traces of Greek inscription.<br>ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ | Wheel, the felloe a circle of dots; around, traces of Hebrew inscription. | 210 |

[1] The references are to the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Palestine.

| No. | *Description*—contd. Obverse. | Reverse. | B.M.C.[1] Page No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | ALEXANDER JANNAEUS—*contd.* | | |
| 306–310 | As 13–295, but double struck (or re-struck on same types). | — | |
| 311 | Incuse wheel (impression from another coin left between the dies). | As 13–295. | — |
| 312–319 | Types obliterated. | — | — |

No similar hoard appears to have been published; the coins included in it are usually dug up singly or in small numbers by peasants while cultivating their land; even if larger finds are occasionally made under such circumstances they are dispersed before an opportunity to study them occurs. The discovery of this hoard during excavations on Mount Ophel is, therefore, of some numismatic interest apart from its possible archaeological value as a means of dating the level at which it was buried. The total number of coins in the hoard was 319 and all may be attributed to Alexander Jannaeus, except Nos. 1–8 and 312–319. Of the first eight, four are certainly (and the remainder probably) attributable to John Hyrcanus I.

The coins of Alexander Jannaeus are all of the Anchor-Wheel variety, none of his other types being represented in the hoard; this, coupled with the fact that coins of John Hyrcanus I occur, leads to the conclusion that the Anchor-Wheel series was the earliest coinage of Alexander Jannaeus. In this case the hoard must have been deposited during the early part of his reign, but not immediately after his accession, since the coins of Hyrcanus are very few in number, and a period of perhaps five to ten years should be allowed for these to have become scarce in circulation. However, as the reign of Alexander Jannaeus lasted for twenty-seven years, issues of coins of the Anchor-Wheel types (which, although numerous, do not seem to

[1] The references are to the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Palestine.

have constituted as much as a third of his total monetary output, judging from their proportion to his other types hitherto discovered) are not likely to have extended over a period longer than ten years; therefore, the date of the burial of the hoard may be fixed in some year near 95 B.C.

The occurrence in this hoard of coins bearing the types—*Obv.:* Anchor in broad circle; around, Greek inscription. *Rev.:* Wheel, the felloe a circle of dots; around, Hebrew inscription, hitherto described as imitations of Alexander Jannaeus (B.M.C., p. 210), proves that these coins were struck by Alexander Jannaeus himself at the beginning of his reign and not by one of his successors; as their weight is roughly half that of his commoner Anchor-Wheel coins (B.M.C., Series F, p. 207) it may be inferred that they are half denominations.

It is now possible to make an attempt to arrange the coins of Alexander Jannaeus in the order in which they were struck. Assuming, on the evidence of the hoard, that he first issued the Anchor-Wheel types, his second issue would probably have been the Anchor-Flower series (B.M.C., Series A, p. 198) together with, as a half denomination, the Palm Branch-Flower type (B.M.C., Series B, p. 199). The Anchor-Wheel and the Anchor-Flower coins bear identical inscriptions in Greek and Hebrew, including the title of King, which are likely to have been unacceptable to certain sections of the Jews. Now it is known that Alexander Jannaeus had trouble with religious factions, and it is probable that before the middle of his reign he found it advisable to abandon the Greek inscription and the royal name. He appears to have withdrawn the Anchor-Flower coins from circulation and to have re-struck them with types similar to those of John Hyrcanus I—*Obv.:* Inscription in wreath, name יונתן. *Rev.:* Double cornucopiae. (B.M.C., Series C, p. 199.) The remaining coins which bear these types and the name יונתן, but which were not re-struck, were probably issued at about the same time as, or shortly after, the re-struck series, when the supply of discarded types for re-striking became exhausted. Incidentally the rarity or complete absence of what are here inferred to be later types re-struck on the Anchor-Wheel series is difficult to explain unless, perhaps, the latter was destroyed or suppressed owing to popular agitation before the Anchor-Flower variety came into circulation. It remains only to consider the coins which bear the types—

*Obv.:* Inscription in wreath, name יהונתן. *Rev.:* Double cornucopiae. (B.M.C., Series E, p. 204.) If the inferences already drawn are correct, these coins would have been issued either concurrently with, or more probably after, the series bearing the same types but with the shorter name Jonathan, יונתן.

It is of interest to note that on four coins of the Anchor-Wheel type found in the hoard the name Jonathan appears, instead of the usual Jehonathan; those with Jonathan may have been issued last in the Anchor-Wheel series but apparently preceded the Anchor-Flower types on which the form Jehonathan recurs. The shortened spelling seems to occur on coins struck near the middle of the reign. The withdrawal of Greek types and inscriptions and the return to the unabbreviated spelling of the name Jonathan at the close of the reign can, perhaps, be associated with the reconciliation between the King and leaders of the religious sects who resented any form of alien intrusion.

## NOTES ON THE SITES OF SUCCOTH AND PENUEL AS BEARING UPON THE ROUTES OF GIDEON AND JACOB.

By The Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Scot.).

(*Concluded from p.* 96.)

### *El-Khaimāt* (الخيمات).

As we stood on the top of Jebel Hosha' Mr. Negeeb Kubeisy, of the Mission at Es-Salt, who guided me in my excursions, drew my attention to some ruins on the top of the 2,000-feet level[1] Jebel opposite. The name now given to these ruins and the plateau on which they stand is El-Khaimāt, meaning "the booths" or "tents."

El-Khaimāt is part of the western boundary of the plain El-Ardah, and its northern end looks right down on Tell Subeiḥ. Between Jebel Hosha' and El-Khaimāt is a deep fertile little cup or valley where lie the ruins of an Arab settlement, apparently not long

[1] For these levels *see* Map of the Palestine Exploration Survey.

abandoned. At the north end of this little valley is the southern entrance to the plain El-Ardah.

Mr. Kubeisy claims that El-Khaimat is the Succoth of the Old Testament, a view held by others[1] as well.

El-Khaimāt is a grassy plateau, an hour's ride from Jebel Hosha', but as the crow flies not more than two miles distant. There is evidence of abundant pasture in April (when I was there), and there must have been a supply of water, though whether it came from springs or was collected in cisterns during the wet season I did not determine. There is abundance of stones for building, but there never could have been bulrushes for building reed-and-mud booths, unless carried from the Zerka valley or the Jordan valley several miles away.

There are several points which favour its identification with Succoth :—

1. In those days of predatory warfare Succoth, or any other fort, is much more likely to have occupied a position of natural strength and difficulty of access than to have stood on the plain—at Deir Alla, for example. As Succoth was a fortress, however, there ought to be traces of ancient walls or fortifications. At least there should be evidence of accumulation. Even allowing that its walls had been re-used by later builders on the site, the materials ought still to be visible or traceable. El-Khaimāt, so far as I could see, showed so little trace of accumulation or of continued occupation, that I did not consider the theory tenable, and turned my steps to the plain El-Ardah.

2. The name El-Khaimāt may contain a reminiscence of Jacob's booths. It is the restricted plural denoting only a few tents, which Mr. Kubeisy also considers significant.

It is quite likely that El-Khaimāt retains the name. It would be a fair translation of the Hebrew word "Succoth." Instances of ancient names being retained in modern form are quite common. Usually we find that the name has descended from a hill site to a site on the plain, but instances of the opposite are also found. El-Khaimāt may retain the name Succoth, and yet not be the site of Succoth.

3. Another point which may be claimed in its favour is that Succoth is first mentioned in the narrative of Gideon's campaign

[1] See *Q.S.*, 1888, p. 197.

(Judges viii), both in his outgoing and in his return journey. The significance of this depends entirely on where we locate Penuel. Pastor Jemel, in *Q.S.*, 1888, p. 197, identifies El-Khaimat as Succoth and El-Harat as Penuel. El-Harat is north-east from Khaimat: not inside the plain El-Ardah.

If we assume that Gideon climbed the separate ridges and crossed the intervening valleys between the Jordan plain and El-Khaimat and did not take the route through the plain El-Ardah, he would certainly have arrived at Succoth first. If El-Harat, in the plain El-Ardah, is Penuel, he must then have deviated several miles from his straight route to Amman in order to ask help from Penuel. On the return journey, again, he could have visited Succoth (El-Khaimat) first and then passed on to El-Harat (Penuel) in the plain El Ardah, returning to Shechem by the route through the plain.

It is obvious in this case that Jebel Hosha' could not be Penuel, for he could not reach El-Khaimat on his return journey without passing Jebel Hosha' first.

In Judges viii, I am struck by the fact that he used thorns and briers as whips with which to punish the elders of Succoth. There are no thorns or briers on El-Khaimāt, nor is it a likely place for them; but the plain El-Ardah is full of them.

Though we are sometimes inclined readily to attribute slight inaccuracies in circumstantial detail to ancient writers, it is possible that this fact in Judges viii may be of great significance in identifying the relative positions of Succoth and Penuel. By the narrative as it stands Gideon visited Succoth first, both in his outward and in his return journey.

*Jacob's route.*

If we identify Deir Alla with Succoth, Jacob's wanderings may very well have been confined to the north of the Zerka (Jabbok). Penuel must then have occupied a prominent position visible from the valley of the river.

Both Tell Subeih and El-Khaimāt are south of the river and invisible from it, and the identification of either with Succoth would imply that Jacob met Esau south of the Jabbok, quite near to the Wady Sir, a few miles south of Es-Salt, and turned westwards after he left him.

In Gen. xxxiii, 14, 15, Jacob induces Esau to go "past" him (*i.e.* go in front of him), and promises that he will follow Esau to his home at Seir. He also politely refuses Esau's offer to leave some of his men to help with Jacob's flocks,

No sooner, however, had Esau passed on than Jacob wheeled about and set out due north-west for the mouth of the Jabbok. He never visited Esau. We need not, therefore, look for Succoth south of Es-Salt. It must lie somewhere west of it.

If Jacob were in the valley of the Jabbok when Esau left him, his change of direction would have been immediately visible to Esau. If Jacob were in the neighbourhood of Es-Salt, he could have wandered for days in the little valleys without his deception being discovered.

From Es-Salt his route would undoubtedly have led him by Jebel Hosha' straight to El-Khaimāt, but the well-watered grassy plain El-Ardah would have proved far too attractive for him to select the lofty plateau, El-Khaimāt, in preference, which would have also been a considerable deviation from the straight road to Shechem.

If the incidents of Gen. xxxiii happened south of the Jabbok, there is little doubt that Jacob's route led straight by Es-Salt and Jebel Hosha', through the plain El-Ardah to Succoth—whether we identify Succoth as Tell Subieh or Tell Deir Alla. Even if we identify El-Khaimāt as Succoth, his route would have been the same, except that in this case he passed through the plain El-Ardah on his way to Shechem after leaving Succoth.

El-Khaimāt and El-Harat, as Succoth and Penuel, are situated within sight of each other, and the identifications would suit that one passage in Judges (viii, 5, 14, 17); but El-Harat as Penuel would not fit into the Jacob narrative at all. And there seems no likelihood of finding two sites, for Succoth and Penuel, so situated relatively to each other that it would be possible for Gideon to visit Succoth first, both going and coming.

We may, of course, assume that the writer was simply careless in arranging his details; or we may assume that Gideon passed Penuel on his homeward journey in order to punish Succoth first and afterwards returned to raze Penuel to the ground.

## NEBY HOSHA'.

By The Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Scot.).

From Sawadeh it is a ride of half an hour due North to Jebel Hosha' (هوشع). This is a Moslem shrine of recent date and sanctity. Who this Hosha' was it is impossible to determine. Some say it is Joshua, but most connect the name with the prophet Hoshea. The Arabic is a correct transliteration of the Hebrew. There is, therefore, little doubt that Hoshea is intended, and Jebel Hosha' is popularly understood to be the burial-place of that prophet.

There is no means of ascertaining how these Holy Places spring up. They take the place of the Canaanite High Places of old. Usually they are located on some high point visible from afar, and always, where possible, they are associated with the name of some known saint of the past who distinguished himself by his piety, philanthropic work, or miraculous power of healing. Thus Neby Musa and Neby Samuel, Neby Salih and Neby Ibrahim are all names of high and holy places—the first two quite close to Jerusalem —bearing the sacred names of Moses and Samuel, Salih and Abraham (of the Old Testament), and the hills are now known by their names. We may add also Neby Gadur close to Es-Salt.

It is quite usual to build a tomb on the spot, though frequently there is nothing but a heap of stones or cairn to which every visitor contributes his share. The name *waly* is often applied to such a holy place. Originally *waly* means "a friend"; then it came to mean a "Friend of God," a "saint." Finally it is applied to the sacred place where a saint is buried or revered.

On Jebel Hosha' a large tomb has been built. It is shaped like the usual square room with a dome on the top, but its east side is prolonged to form a salon nearly 40 feet long and about 15 feet to 20 feet wide.

The door enters in the north side of the square room, and in the inside of the wall facing the door is a small nave or recess from which the Imam is accustomed to address the assembled pilgrims. There is an appointed keeper of the sanctuary, who happened to be a man

from Salt, and treated us with great kindness. Not having the key with him, he lifted the large door completely off its hinges that we might gain admission.

It appears that this is a very sacred place and visited by large numbers of Moslem pilgrims. These pilgrims are in the habit of placing each a stone on a prominent rock by the wayside as they approach or leave the shrine. If there are four or five pilgrims together, each places his stone above that of the other. Succeeding pilgrims add theirs, or make new piles of their own. Thus the wayside all up the valley from Es-Salt is dotted over with these small pillarettes of four or five stones each, which I at first mistook for marks left by recent government surveyors. They remind us of the Dream or Bethel-pillars of the Old Testament; and they show that the ancient custom still survives among the modern inhabitants of the country, viz. of erecting a pillar to commemorate their meeting with God at one or other of the recognized shrines. The habit also indicates that the cairn or heaping-up of stones is the original form of the *waly*, and the built tomb is a later idea.

It appears, therefore, that these Holy Places are instituted to meet the religious needs of the people. In fact, such a shrine is a necessity in every district, and the better authenticated it is the greater is its influence in the minds of the people. Therefore the inventors or originators of these places connect them either with the name of some saint well known in the district, or, where that is impossible, with some historical saint or prophet whose name at once commands reverence.

### *The Tomb of the Prophet Hoshea.*

The large salon contains the tomb of the Prophet Hoshea. This tomb is a large trough built of stones and plaster. It is 31½ feet long, 4 feet wide, 4 feet high, and its sides are 4 inches thick. The trough is covered with several thicknesses of pall, the old one being left as a new one was put on. I looked underneath the various palls and examined it. The trough is filled up to within 6 inches of the top, and there is a layer of plaster about ¾ inch thick above the filling. This plaster was broken at one point, and only showed more plaster and stone-filling beneath it. So the trough may be solid masonry up to 3 feet or 3 feet 6 inches inside: or it may contain bodies; or it may conceal treasure. Who knows?

I noticed there was a very nasty smell. Accordingly I lifted the pall a little farther down, and found underneath an enormous cat lying dead. This is the only touch of realism I observed about the place. I suppose when one cat fades away into invisible and imperceptible smell, another is put in its place. Anyhow, I made the keeper remove this one, and he did so before my eyes. The trough has obviously been built not long ago, probably to establish a new sacred shrine. Its size is meant more to impress the pilgrim with the importance and sanctity of the shrine than with the size of the Prophet Hoshea, who could hardly have been 31½ feet long.

*The Three Caves.*

The only interesting thing I saw on Jebel Hosha' was the three caves in a fine ledge of rock facing S.W. and just a little above the shrine.

The western cave is a magnificent square-cut room, measuring close on *c.* 35 feet × 33 feet. It has now a wide open front. I believe it originally had a narrow door, or no door in front at all, but a secret entrance from above, which is more likely. In the latter case the front would have been without any opening. The front has now been quarried away to a depth of 6 feet to 8 feet, so that the entrance now extends for the whole length of the cave. It is artificial, and has a magnificent flat roof which is due to the stratification. The roof layer is solid rock to a depth of from 16 inches to 18 inches. The layer above that is about 13 inches thick.

We wondered how the roof sustained the weight of 35 feet square of solid matter above it till we examined the stratification. Beneath the roof layer the stratification becomes a series of layers of hard limestone and rubble alternating, and each layer is only about 2 *inches* thick. It was an easy matter, therefore, to excavate this cave, and doubtless it has been extended by later hands. There is no pillar left to support the roof, which has such a fine coat of tarry smoke from wood fires on it that it looks as if it had been varnished. The whole expanse of the roof is the same. It must, therefore, have been used as a *khan* or wayside inn for many years. It is the most spacious and magnificent cave-dwelling I have seen in the district.

The middle cave is slightly smaller and was entered from above by a fine staircase of eight or ten steps cut in the solid rock. Originally, therefore, this cave may have been close in front. Now, the

front has been quarried away as in the western one, right along its whole length. It is much longer than the first, but not so deep. The staircase is about 3 feet broad, with steps about 8 inches to 9 inches high. The staircase shaft had been covered on the top with a *neatly fitting oblong slab*, and quite close to it later hands had cut a fine circular shaft about a yard in diameter right into the centre of the cave. This shaft is at a deeper part of the rock, and is, I am sure, 15 feet deep to the roof of the cave. Very likely it was bored in search of water or to make a cistern—probably by the Romans—but naturally had never been used for drawing water. I observed carefully that the circular marks of the boring instruments remain unworn and unsmoothed, showing that it had never been used for hauling up or letting down heavy or hard objects.

The shaft indicates (1) that when the shaft was made the staircase opening on top was sealed up and unobserved; (2) that the front of the cave was not quarried away then, and the cave had no visible opening. The quarrying away of the front is, therefore, comparatively recent. In fact, the people who made the shaft had no idea they were boring into an artificial cave, and must have been greatly disgusted over the result.

The eastern cave is the smallest of the three, and is of no particular interest beyond showing that the front has been very much quarried away. It shows no sign of access from above like the second cave.

My idea is that all three were close secret caves, entered by staircases from the flat surface above. These staircases had been near the front and have been quarried away in the case of the western and eastern caves. The remaining staircase is also quite near the front, but it happens to be very close to the rock partition between itself and the first cave. It would, therefore, have entailed very hard and deep cutting to remove it. To this we owe its preservation.

### *Is Hosha' Penuel?*

The unfortunate fact about most "Identifications" of Biblical sites in Palestine is, that they often rest on no scientific basis whatever. The method of riding through the country with a Bible and a map has now been abandoned. Sites are now carefully examined for remains of buildings and pottery, etc., as well as

cave-dwellings and tombs, which may contribute evidence confirming or elucidating that contained in the Bible narrative.

Much of the previous work has, therefore, to be set aside, and prejudices may die hard, but scientific evidence or the complete absence of it cannot be ignored.

I am often puzzled by the identifications of former visitors. I cannot fathom the reasons which led them to identify some sites. Jebel Hosha', some authorities say, was Penuel, and they mark it down on their maps as such, but this identification is untenable for several reasons.

(1) To begin with, Hosha' is not visible from the Jabbok, not even from Succoth Deir Alla, which is not more than four hours off, or less than 20 miles. It is certainly not visible from Tell Subeiḥ in the Plain el-Ardah ; though it *is* visible from el-Khaimāt across the valley.

(2) We know there was a tower on Penuel which Gideon destroyed (Judges viii, 6–8), and Jeroboam rebuilt (1 Sam. xii, 25) to be a refuge for himself if Israel became tired of him and returned in their allegiance to David's family. There is no trace whatever of there having been a tower or any other building of ancient masonry on this site. Hosha' is practically bare rock, so that the walls can't very well be deeply buried.

(3) There is not a scrap of pottery about nor any sign of occupation except these caves which are probably early dwellings opened up and enlarged by later occupants. They are now used as shelters for cattle or passing caravans, as the blackened roofs show.

(4) There is not a trace of rock-cut tombs in the hills around, on the hill above Hosha', nor on Hosha' itself, nor on the two hills between it and Sawadeh, nor on Sawadeh hill itself. Had there been an Israelite or Canaanite settlement on Hosha', their burial-places must be visible somewhere near, on some slope, opposite.

(5) There is practically no supply of water on the hill and no cisterns.

(6) Nor does it suit the narrative of Jacob's journey unless we assume that Jacob had crossed the Jabbok, climbed the Jebel above its south bank, and journeyed several miles southwards to meet Esau before he saw Penuel. Undoubtedly this is exactly what did happen. Jacob set out, as all nomads do, two hours before sunrise, and as the sun rose it shone upon the Tower of Penuel

[To face p. 196.]

Fig. 1.—Neby Hosha'.

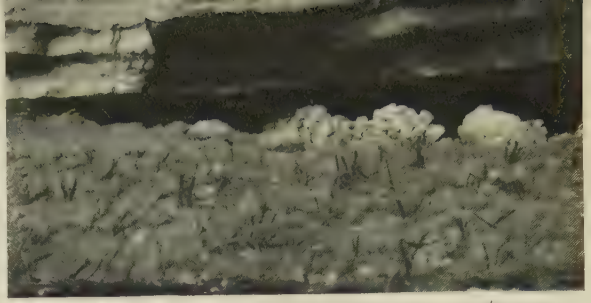

Fig. 2.—Jebel Hosha'. The largest cave: entrance.

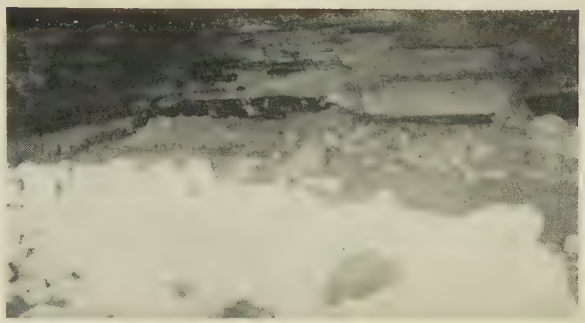

Fig. 3.—The largest cave: interior.

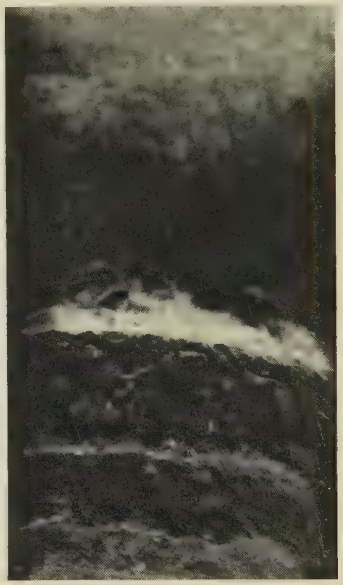

Fig. 4.—Middle cave: stair entrance from ground-level.

right in front of him. But there was no tower on Hosha', for there is not the slightest trace of its ever having been occupied even as a fortress.

The identification of Hosha' with Penuel must, therefore, I think, be abandoned. It appears to have been a purely arbitrary choice, and there is not a scrap of evidence in its favour. I am not surprised that no writer on the subject whose work I have seen has adduced any. The Tower of Penuel must be looked for elsewhere.[1]

## JEBEL SAWĀDĀ: A PROBABLE SITE FOR MOUNT NEBO.

By The Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Scot.).

Almost due east from El-Khaimāt, two miles south of Jebel Hosha', stands the peak Sawādā (سواداً), in the hill range 3,000 feet above sea-level.

Sawādā is a long ridge, sloping upwards and eastwards from the 2,000-feet level, and culminating in a peak of over 3,000 feet in height.

It runs almost due east and west. Its peak projects so far westwards that it obstructs the view of Canaan from any other hill south or north of it, because these other hills are either of too low altitude, or situated too far to the east, to enable one to see past Sawādā from their summits.

From the high hills of Moab the view of Canaan to the north is obstructed by this ridge, and from Jebel Hosha' and other hills of the higher mountain land north of Sawādā is equally cut off by it.

[1] The supposition that the name Hosha' may be a corruption of the Arabic word *wush*, "face"—"Penuel" means "Face of God"—may be mentioned only to be dismissed.

As we rode from the plain El-Ardah along the western edge of the highest Jebel we realized this to the full.

The ridge is visible from the moment we leave the southern entrance, and only as we climbed the 1,000–2,000 feet from the plain to the top of Jebel Hosha' were we able to receive a gradually extending vision of the Dead Sea, over the summit of the ridge. The same holds of the hills south of it. The view to the north from them practically stops at Nablus road and cuts across at an angle to the north-west, taking in Ebal, Gerizim, and Carmel. But Sawādā completely hides the Jordan valley, the Sea of Galilee, Lake Merom, and Mount Hermon from the high hills farther south. From the summit of Sawādā itself, however, the view of western Palestine is the finest and most extensive that can be had from any hill east of Jordan. It embraces a large section of the Dead Sea and of the country west and south-west of it. It includes Olivet with its towers, all the country from Jerusalem northward, and extends as far as Tiberias and even farther north. Nablus and its twin peaks, Carmel, Hermon, Tabor, and all the outstanding features of the country are visible to the naked eye on a clear day. The whole valley of the Jordan lies open to view and its upper reaches fade away into mist. It is unquestionably the only view of Canaan approaching to completeness that can be had from the east side. For this reason all who have stood on its summit come away with the conviction that Jebel Sawādā is the Mount Nebo of the Old Testament (Deut. xxxiv), and that it was from Sawādā that Moses had his view of the Promised Land.

Those who have visited it on a clear day at sunrise or sunset tell me that they have seen the Mediterranean—the "utmost sea" of Deut. xxxiv, 2—from its summit. I had the misfortune to climb it both times on a dull day, and about 2 p.m., so that the sun's morning reflection on the sea and the view of its setting were denied me. Sawādā is the only hill on the east side from which the Mediterranean can be seen. No one has ever claimed to have had a glimpse of it from any other hill, and I have seen several reliable witnesses who claim to have seen it unmistakably from Sawādā. This is a strong argument for its identification with Mount Nebo of Deut. xxxiv, though it should be noted that Deut. xxxiv, 2, in the words "all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea," does not necessarily imply that the sea was visible.

Sawādā is not quite "over against" Jericho. It is more nearly opposite to Shechem. "All the land of Gilead unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees unto Zoar" —all are visible from its summit, and I have never seen or heard of another hill on the east side of Jordan that can so completely fulfil these verses of Deut. xxxiv, 1-3. I have climbed both Nebo and Pisgah in the neighbourhood of Medeba: there is no view to speak of from the so-called Nebo; the view from "Pisgah" is very much better, but the view of the Jordan valley and from Shechem northwards is completely cut off by intervening hills, of which Sawādā, I am sure, is the worst offender. From neither of these two can the view be said to fulfil these verses of Deut. xxxiv, nor can the view of the Promised Land from them in any way compare with that from Sawādā, either in clarity or extent.

There were two possible ways for Israel of entrance into Canaan from the east side. One was by Jericho to Jerusalem, or Urusalim, as it was then called. The other was by the road to Shechem. Both roads are in use to this day, and Sawādā commands a fine view of both.

The Shechem road is to my mind the natural route for an invading force from the east to choose. The Israelites, we presume, had control of Gilead and Gad. They had nothing, therefore, to fear in the way of attack from the hills there. They could pass over in safety from Salt and Jebel Hosha' to the plain El-Ardah. Thence they could descend to the mouth of the Wady Zerka or Jabbok valley, having the advantage of descent from higher ground in their favour for attack. Thereafter they had level ground with no fear of ambushes, but the first part of the route cannot compare with the other route in the matter of water and ease of travel. The probability is that Moses was undecided as to whether the route by Jericho or that by the Jabbok to Shechem would be more suitable for his purpose. To decide the point, therefore, he climbed the peak from which he could command the best view of the western side, and having viewed both routes, chose what has all along been the popular route between the west and Transjordania, viz. that by the Wady Shaib, which opens on to the Jordan valley at Nimrin and leads straight to Jericho.

By the Wady Shaib road there is abundance of water, as the Shaib flows by the side of it all the way, and it is an easy descent. By Salt, Hosha' and the Jabbok valley it is not easy going, nor is there a steady supply of water alongside of the route. There is abundance of water at Es-Salt and again in the plain El-Ardah, but almost none between the two places. It is perfectly intelligible why the Jericho entrance to Canaan was chosen. It was the easiest at the outset, undoubtedly, but the hill country between Jericho and Jerusalem did not hold out much attraction, and we are not surprised that the invasion turned northward ultimately toward Shechem instead of pressing through the hills to capture Judah and Jerusalem.

I quite accept Sawādā peak as the Nebo of Deut. xxxiv. If the statement of the extent of view possible from "Nebo" given in that chapter be that of an eye-witness, and not a mere flight of imagination by one who never was in the country east of Jordan, Sawādā peak is the only hill which satisfies it; for by its very position and shape it excludes all other possible candidates.

I searched carefully for traces of ancient masonry here, for there is little doubt that this hill, which dominates all the region around and overlooks the whole of western Palestine, was a likely site for a fortress of refuge like Mahanaim in times of trouble. There are ruins there, but none that I could date definitely as Canaanite or early Hebrew. The chief objection to its ever having been a fort is the want of a sure water supply. Down in the deep valley beneath it there is certainly, and probably always has been, a sure supply of water; and there are not many (if any) hill-tops suitable for such fortresses that have a constant supply of water as well as their other advantages. Even on the hill where the fortress of Salt has stood for ages there is only a small spring. Its defenders had to cut a tunnel down to the heart of the town, where the powerful spring is situated, to procure water for the fortress.

Sawādā is the finest site I have seen for such a fortress—just the place a monarch would chose for a refuge when pursued by a popular, unscrupulous, ambitious and warlike son. A fortress on the top of it would be visible from every point of high ground on the western side, and no enemy could approach it without being seen.

Along the western edge of the hill there are traces of an old wall built on the top of a rock-scarp, the face of which had been cut to suit it (*see* below). Over the edge of this wall one can look straight down a depth of about 1,000 feet to the very bottom of the underlying valley. It looks as if this is the remains of a very old fortification, but dating from masonry alone without collateral evidence from

Wall on the west side of Jebel Sawādā.

excavation is never safe nor sure. All over the summit I saw boulders, hammer-shaped and untooled, which might be part of the same early fortification. At one point, too, there is a course or two of a roughly built wall, but the site would require to be excavated to enable one to speak with certainty. If traces of early Hebrew masonry were found on the summit of Sawādā I should not hesitate to set it down as the site of Mahanaim or some other of the known towers or fortresses to which kings and leaders fled for refuge occasionally in this region.

# THE DANISH EXCAVATION OF SHILOH.

## PRELIMINARY REPORT.

By Hans Kjaer, M.A.,
Deputy Keeper of the National Museum, Copenhagen.

Shiloh, subsequently situated in the territory of Ephraim, is first referred to in the Book of Joshua. Particular mention is made of the place soon after the crossing of the Jordan—that is to say, shortly after the earliest phases of the conquest of Canaan. It is referred to as a place where Joshua several times held a council, and the division by lot of the land among the tribes of the people is located at Shiloh. The fame of the place, however, rests principally on the fact that the Ark of the Covenant was for a time installed here when more peaceful conditions prevailed; according to the accounts given in the Books of Samuel, the period lasted till the close of the time of the Judges, when Eli's sons carried the ark into battle against the Philistines. After this it was never brought back to Shiloh, though no reason is given, but placed in a house at Kiriath-Jearim, whence it was subsequently carried to Jerusalem. Since the crossing of the Jordan presumably took place in the 13th century B.C., and David's rule in Jerusalem is assigned to 1010, it is possible that the ark remained at Shiloh for about a couple of hundred years.

It is the presence of the ark at Shiloh which has always made the place famous. There must have been at least one great annual festival there of a general nature. It must at all events have been a sanctuary of a central character, and naturally we hear of celebrations and of the persons who lived in the place near the ark and serving it. That it must have been a festival of a very extensive character seems to appear from the well-known story of how the Tribe of Benjamin procured wives for themselves when their neighbours refused to give them their daughters in marriage. When the daughters of Shiloh came out to dance at the festival, the young men ran out from the vineyards where they had concealed themselves, and seized each a wife (Judges xxi). According to the story

there seem to have been a greater number of men, and we get the impression that the festival took place at some distance from the town. The festival ground cannot have been in the town itself nor immediately outside its gates.

The two personalities whose names are, above all, connected with Shiloh are Eli and Samuel. Samuel is mentioned as the last of the judges, Eli as the last but one. Eli was also high-priest. A certain reverence attaches to his name, but mostly from his early years, of which we have no record; what we hear about is mainly his old age and feebleness. His sons quarrel with those who come to offer sacrifice, are greedy for their share of the offering, and finally a "man of God" threatens Eli's family with destruction. At that time the boy Samuel was already serving in the Temple. We all know the story of Samuel's first call (1 Sam. iii). It was soon after this that Eli's sons carried the ark into battle, where it was captured by the Philistines and Eli's sons were killed.

Even if we hear somewhat later, in the days of Jeroboam, of a prophet Ahijah as a native of Shiloh, the glamour of the place had naturally vanished. It also seems, however, that the town suffered an actual catastrophe, though perhaps at a much later date. According to the prophet Jeremiah, Yahweh says: "Go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel" (Jer. vii, 12, 14; *cf.* xxvi, 6). Shiloh does not, however, seem to have been entirely destroyed.

I have mentioned these passages in order that everything found in the Bible concerning the nature and character of the place might be at hand. There are not many particulars, and we must not, of course, take the statements too literally. This applies, *e.g.* to the information given in the Book of Judges that Shiloh is situated north of Bethel, east of the high road leading from Bethel to Shechem, and south of Lebonah. All three places are now assumed to be known. Shechem has been shown by Professor Sellin to have lain a couple of kilometres east of the present Nablus; Bethel is the modern Beitun, about two miles north of Jerusalem; and the third place, Lebonah, is beyond all doubt the present el-Lubban on the main road running north from Jerusalem, with the well-known khān.

The name Shiloh is variously rendered in Greek by Silo, Sēlo, or Sēlōm. Since there is now, close to el-Lubban, not south but

east-south-east of it, it is true, though in the right position in relation to Bethel and Sichem, a place called in Arabic, Seilun, it seems natural to recognize the old name in this.

It was E. Robinson who discovered the site of Shiloh in 1838.[1] Since his visit Seilun has been generally supposed to be identical with Shiloh, and a Swiss franc, dating from 1851, found by us during the excavation, is one of the signs of those pilgrimages that have since now and then brought Europeans to Shiloh.

But in locating the site of Shiloh, Robinson in fact merely corroborated the ancient tradition. The Jewish author, Rabbi Nathan, of the 2nd century A.D., names a place, the location of which meets the case very well. Eusebius (died 340) states that there are twelve Roman miles between Shechem and Shiloh, *i.e.* two and a-half geographical miles. This is pretty correct, as the crow flies. St. Jerome (A.D. 346–420), who must have visited the place, says that "Silo (Sēlo) was the tabernacle and the ark of God; now barely the foundations of the altar are shown." Later on, however, there occurred a divergence in the tradition. The Crusaders sought Shiloh in a very different place, at Nebi Samwill, as also did pilgrims in the 16th century. But just as the name survived locally, so also it persisted in Jewish tradition, both in the 16th century and later, and it makes its appearance again in Bonifacius of Ragusa who, in the 16th century, evidently started from Khan el-Lubban to get to Shiloh, "where there is an altar and a ruined church to be seen."

It was Dr. Aage Smith who, thirteen or fourteen years ago, chiefly at the instigation of one man, Director Hjerl-Hansen, who promised financial support, raised the question of a Danish excavation of Shiloh. A committee was formed consisting of the Chief Librarian of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, Dr. H. O. Lange, Professor F. Buhl, Director Hjerl-Hansen, Baron H. Rosenkrantz, Professor D. Simonsen, Captain L. Skeel, Rev. C. Skovgaard-Petersen, and Dean H. Ussing, now Chairman of the Committee. The Great War prevented the execution of the plan in 1915 as originally intended. After the war Dr. Smith dug a few scattered trial holes on the Tell itself. These, at any rate, showed that considerable strata, up to 4 or 5 metres deep, were found, containing remains of buildings. After another delay we had got so far at the beginning of 1926 that the necessary sum could be guaranteed, partly from the original

[1] E. Robinson, *Palästina*, Bd. III, I, p. 306, Halle, 1841.

fund, from a similar amount collected by the *Berlingske Tidende*, and 2,000 kr. from the Raben-Levetzau fund, and partly by a collection throughout the country, first started by Dr. Smith and energetically continued by Dean Ussing.

The management of the investigation was entrusted to myself in conjunction with Mr. Charles Christensen as architect and draughtsman, and Dr. Aage Smith. It was our intention to start work at Seilun on March 1. Seilun is now quite uninhabited. The land is owned by the inhabitants of the village of Kuriut which lies a good way off to the north behind a large mountain, so that to reach it you generally have to go by a rather round-about way through the valley on the east of the mountain. About half-way there is a well still bearing the name of Seilun, Ain Seilun. The village of Kuriut consists of two sections, a larger and a smaller one, separated and in part hostile to each other. In the smaller section a vague tradition prevails that their forefathers once in the remote past lived at Seilun. On the Tell there are a great number of ruins of houses, of which the visible ones are undoubtedly Arab, though supported on ruins of houses from earlier times.

Things, however, did not turn out as we had hoped. It proved necessary to enter into a series of negotiations with the fellahin, and not until the middle of March did our prospects brighten, while at the same time the late rains seemed to be going to stop, but then unfortunately our architect fell ill, and the illness soon proved to be a serious one –typhus –which deprived us of his aid until towards May. As I did not now dare to engage more labour than I could superintend myself, our work assumed less extensive proportions than originally planned.

On March 17 our negotiations with the fellahin were finally brought to a successful close with regard to a terrain of about 2,000 square metres. On the same evening Dr. Aage Smith arrived from Aleppo. The next day, on the 18th, our work at Seilun began. We worked with a force of up to forty people. Of these the men did the actual work. They got to work very well, some of them excellently. The boys, too, of which, however, we had only a few, were very good workers.

Seilun consists of a " Tell " of a fairly large circumference and an anterior plain on the south side. The Tell is a natural rock, in the main isolated, broad at the base with steep sides, except on the

southern side where it only rises 21 metres above the plain. At the level of the plain it is about 300 metres broad. On the northern side about half of it is separated off in a lower terrace with a steep drop to the brook Wadi Seilun which, towards the west, is continued in the valley leading down to Khan el-Lubban, about 4 kilometres distant and in which there runs a path. The usual driving road to Seilun issues from the high road, a little further south, and runs first towards the north, past the village of Turmus Aya, then northward across "Wadi Musa," up sloping rocks, to about 300 metres from Seilun.

In order to get a correct notion of conditions at Seilun I thought it advisable to begin by a more extensive excavation on the Tell itself. It is chiefly the southern side that has been built on, and here the greatest number of ruined walls are found. I chose a place on the southern slope, near but not directly on the summit, a place where there were no Arab houses visible above the surface, and where the rock only cropped out in a few places. Here we marked off a main area of 300 square metres, later enlarged to about 400 square metres, and another area of 100 metres. Subsequently a smaller, but very important, examination of a point on the plain was made.

During the excavations the examination was, throughout, carried down to the rock (except in the case of a smaller area), and often into the rock as well, since a number of caves and grottos came to light, partly interconnected and of considerable extension. We dug downward in layers, keeping everything from each layer together; the layers were 25-30 centimetres. The depth of the culture strata differed considerably, ranging from barely 1 metre to 4 metres not including the grottos. As might have been expected with such considerable layers, ruins of houses from different periods were often superimposed upon one another. As a rule we removed the upper layers and left only the bottom layer. Occasionally the lowermost walls reached a height of 1–1½ metres. The great majority of the houses had been built of the natural limestone of the place. As a rule the walls were stout, ¾ metre broad, and built as in the ordinary way, outer and inner wall, and filling between. The earliest dated from Hellenistic times (the oldest from the 5th–4th century B.C.) the uppermost from the time of the Arabs. There was nothing modern. The Hellenistic-Roman houses were, as a rule, well built

with regular and often large squarestones, not rarely with architectonic profiles. The houses of Arab origin were simpler, more often of quarried stones when earlier material had not been employed. In the smaller excavation to the east there did not seem to be anything earlier than Roman-Byzantine times.

In the main area we found a building from the Hellenistic time which can hardly have been anything but a bath (Figs. 3 and 4). It contained three small rooms, one of which was intended for heating, and had a double floor, the upper one resting on brick pillars and having hollow walls with flat burnt-clay cylinders inserted. The floors and walls were " cemented " and well-smoothed, and in all the rooms there were low narrow benches. The rooms were very small, barely the length of a man, the northernmost drained into the middle one, but the floors were about the same level. The heating room had been vaulted, and in front of the whole there seems to have been a kind of loggia facing east. Beside the building there was a very large open cistern. More northerly there had been a larger vaulted room from Roman or Byzantine times. In the eastern excavation a fine door came to light, with well-cut stones, and close by a piece of mosaic with a pattern of white, blue, and red stones. It was tilted almost on end, and was thus not in its original place; probably it had fallen down from an upper floor (Fig. 5).

The evidence for determining the period consisted of numerous pottery fragments, and especially lamps and fragments of lamps. In addition a surprising quantity of broken glass came to light, together with the numerous oddments which one may expect to find in such a place, such as iron nails, beads, spindlewhorls, iron and brass work for doors and bits of various sorts of bronze and iron, a key, scales, quern and crushing-stones, arrowheads and arrow bolts, all in all some hundred objects, besides upwards of a hundred and fifty coins. The best-preserved objects were those from the Hellenistic age, especially thin-walled fine bowls, several of which are in the main whole, bottle-shaped vessels, unfortunately all incomplete, large fragments of stone jugs and other stones vessels. On the whole surprisingly good articles have found their way even to this remote place.

Grottos and caves seem, at any rate in part, to date back to early Israelite times, but were used up to and in the Hellenistic period, probably both as dwellings and for store-rooms. In one of

them there was a stone bench, in another a much-worn flight of steps, partly cut out of the rock. At the bottom lay not a few very rude potsherds of clay, mainly from pointed vessels of a coarse clay mass with the white splashes characteristic of the early vessels. Possibly they date from the early Israelite period. That they must at any rate date farther back than Hellenistic times seems apparent from a couple of lamp fragments of early type. Of pottery of a markedly pre-Israelite type there seemed to be none. It is true that there were a good half score flint implements, but it is uncertain whether they belong to the Stone Age since, as a rule, they were found rather deep down, in the fifth or sixth layer. They comprise mainly two types, partly small knives made of flint flakes, partly small square scrapers of flint. That flint knives were used, ritually, down to modern times is a well-known fact, and such a simple implement as the scraper is no doubt also a long-preserved survival from the earlier stages of culture.

A small amulet cross of lead, and an Arab amulet with the "throne verse" from the Koran characterize the intermediate and the later period.

More definite lines of demarcation are gained by means of the coins. Mr. G. Galster, Deputy Keeper of the National Museum Collection of Coins, and Professor J. Østrup have been so obliging as to determine the majority of these coins already, after the thick crust covering them had been removed at the laboratory of the museum. They form a fairly complete series, corresponding well to the depth of the layers in which they were found. Out of the 72 coins determined, 3 were from recent times, and their presence is presumably accidental. Of the remaining 69, nearly all of them copper coins, there are 13 Hellenistic and Maccabean coins, the 3 earliest, coined in Tyrus, date from Ptolemy II Philadelphos, *i.e.* from 271–246 B.C. There are none from the time of Alexander the Great. The later town of Seilun thus seems to date back to the 3rd century B.C., or judging by the lamps even to the 5th–4th century B.C. Of Roman coins up to the time of Constantine the Great there are 25; 16 are Emperor coins, 9 date from Herod the Great (A.D. 37–44); 16 date from Constantine and the Byzantines, 1 of them from the Empress Helena. The last Byzantines date from the middle of the 7th century, which corresponds well with the fact that the Arab conquest took place in A.D. 636. Of the

15 Arabian coins, 5 date from the 7th century, the Omayyads, 7 from Sultan Saladin (1279–90). Even if there are a few coins of more recent date, it thus seems as if Seilun had been laid waste about the year 1300 (or possibly at the Turkish conquest in 1516 ?). The painted pottery fragments of Arab origin support this assumption. No Crusaders' coins were found, a fact that seems strange. The coins thus form a fairly complete series covering about sixteen hundred years. Nor could any earlier catastrophe be traced in any other way. In a couple of places there were small layers, showing the traces of fire, but they may just as well be of quite peaceful origin. There was hardly any charred wood. There were some bones of animals, especially sheep. Perhaps we may see a reminiscence of the Arab conquest in the numerous arrow bolts. They were generally found in the layers to which the Arab influence could be traced back.

Thus it seems that Seilun has been deserted for the last 600 (or 400) years, and so it is not strange that there is only a vague tradition in Kuriut that their forefathers once dwelt there.

An important supplement to the main excavation was gained on the plain. It was there we found the buildings and ruins which, more than the Tell itself, gave it the impression of being a place of special character. At any rate it was evidently on the plain that the pilgrims expected to find Eli's grave and the "foundations of the altar." These latter were only found by a very few, so they cannot have been very conspicuous. Possibly there is an old tradition concealed in some place-names. The road running southward from the Tell is called the Way of the Christians (*tarik el-Nazara*); a field is called *mede*, "the table," another locality close by is called "the women's dancing ground." The whole area is now cultivated. There is a rather large rock-pool in this place. It is partly surrounded by heavy piled-up stones, and on the northwest side there are worn steps. It must for the present be left undecided whether it may have played any religious rôle in the past, especially as it has water only in the rainy season. It was already dry in April, though the late rains were abundant in 1926.

In the field called *mede* the rock comes up very close to the surface, often there is only one-third of a metre of earth above it, and in some places it crops out. In one of these places we found three large stone ridges enclosing an oblique rectangle open on the

north, 4½ by 7–8 metres broad. We also discovered that the rock had been worked closed by. We began to examine this place, and when we had removed those stones which had undoubtedly been collected from the field, there appeared three low walls enclosing a fairly regular rectangle open on the north side, which had been laid in a round, flat, cup-shaped excavation in the rock. These walls were about 1½ metres broad, and ⅔ metres high. The structure was orientated fairly accurately from north to south; it was open on the northern side, closed on the southern side. The northern terminations of the walls were hardly completely preserved. The rectangle of walls was situated in such a way in the rock cup that the south wall passed over its south edge, while part of the cup on the north was free. Here, on the north side, the Arab owner stated that he had removed some nice stones which he thought were from a house. The rock-cup formed a somewhat oblong round, 12–13 metres across. Thus it was fairly large, but it was shallow and of varying depth, deepest on the west where it reached half a metre. It had a vertical or slightly outward sloping edge. On the eastern side, where the edge was as a rule rather low, a number of small stones were placed on edge on top of it. Covering the whole structure of rock-cup and walls there was, at the beginning of our examination, a thin layer of earth, about 20 metres deep in the middle, in which we found some small fragments of pottery. The soil was of various sorts, but we can hardly infer anything from this except that it had been carried there accidentally or on purpose during the cultivation.

There can hardly be any doubt that in its present shape this structure is of Arab origin, and further evidence thereof was forthcoming when we removed some stones from the middle of the southern wall which seemed to be wrongly placed, and so uncovered the rock-cup and the cutting rounded towards the south. This can hardly be anything but the Moslem *mihrab*, the indication of the direction of Mecca. And close outside the south-eastern corner four graves at least were found in the rock. Two of them were examined and disclosed skeletons, one of a youth, the other of an adult person. Both had their faces turned southward. Further, we were fortunate enough to find in the grave of the adult a small fragment of pottery with green glaze and thus of Arab origin. There can hardly be any doubt that the whole place as it now appears is a prayer sanctuary, an "open-air weli." We still find quite similar low structures of

walls, even in Jerusalem, which have not been intended to be roofed over (*see* Figs. 6 and 7).

It seems most probable to me that the walls and the rock-cup do not constitute a single connected structure. The rock-cup is of earlier date, even though it has been adapted to later uses by the setting up of the supplementary stones on the eastern side. It is difficult, however, to determine its age and original purpose. Among the numerous fragments of pottery found in the surface layer there was not one which might not be of Arab origin. The bottom was only tolerably even, having many holes and small depressions, one of which was half a metre deep. In this, too, were found Arabian potsherds. A large flat depression on the west was covered with a firm close-lying pavement of stones 15–20 centimetres in size, with a flat, even upper surface undoubtedly intentional. The natural surface must have been made fairly even, all projections cut away, and the depressions that were too large filled up. In its present shape this is Arab. Edges and surfaces are rather distinct, and the rock is soft limestone. There has not been much traffic on the naked rock, there must always have been a little earth over it.

That the structure is not at any rate later than the Middle Ages must be taken for granted, partly on account of the results of the excavation on the Tell, partly because it is no longer venerated as a sanctuary, while two others are still supposed to be of a certain sanctity and a tree growing close to one of them must not be cut down. The ground is now cultivated, and nobody knew that there was a sanctuary there. It is quite conceivable that the rock-cup might have been a place for religious dances, or a threshing ground. But such weighty objections may be urged against both these possibilities that they must no doubt be rejected. Of the material known to me there only remains the places of sacrifice known in great number from Petra, some of which at any rate date back to Hellenistic, and so to pre-Christian times. This, of course, furnishes us with no accurate date, nor can we at present do more than conjecture that the reason why the Arabs at Seilun in olden times chose just this spot for a sanctuary (the third one), might be due to a Christian, or even a pre-Christian, tradition. Now corn is exclusively grown in this place. The Arabs, who in these parts strictly respect the Koran's veto upon wine, and consequently take no interest in wine, said that there was a tradition that vines had

been grown here in olden times, but they did not believe it. That this is true none the less may presumably appear from the fact that there are preserved several of the square pits with receiving vats which are commonly supposed to be wine-presses. One is situated near the rock-cup, one or two on the terrace north of the Tell proper. This also renders it less probable, as some will have it, that this terrace was the site of the old sanctuary.

Of the other sanctuaries at Seilun one, Jamia Yetin, lies close to the southern base of the Tell; it is still standing as a roofed building, but very dilapidated (Fig. 8). The interior is supported by two stout columns taken from earlier buildings, while its *mihrab* has been ornamented on the sides with two pillars from the chancel railing of a church. There can be no doubt that there has been a Byzantine church close by, and most probably it was located close to the west of the present rather new wall enclosing the building. A tiled floor is known to lie quite close to the surface, and a little more to the north there is a fragment of a pillar, but not in its original place. The other sanctuary lies a good way from the Tell on a low hill, Jamia Sitin, to the south-south-east. There is a tradition in Kuriut that it was erected in memory of six Mohammedans who overpowered 60 Christians (*sitin* = 60)! It must no doubt have been this which was regarded by the pilgrims as Eli's grave. This view is supported by a stout lintel, which has now fallen down, ornamented on its front surface with a vase between two wreaths, and with an altar with horns at either extremity. The vase and wreath are signs of mourning, and on a memorial to a priest an altar would seem a fitting symbol. The whole interior has fallen in; fragments of four dissimilar Corinthian columns are seen. This house, too, is in the Arab style, but two building periods may be traced. The stout supporting pillars are of such inferior workmanship that they must be due to the repairing of a much earlier house. Here, too, we have to go back rather far to trace the origin—almost to the Christian period. On the east there seem to be foundations of a smaller building containing a couple of small rooms, perhaps intended for a caretaker. (Such a person is mentioned in one of the accounts of the pilgrims.)

The investigations have thus, I will venture to say, on some points resulted in progress, on others they have raised new problems or intensified existing ones of far-reaching value. We have learnt

Fig. 3.—Sebun: the Hellenistic bath, hypocaust in the foreground.



Fig. 1.—Sebun: the Tell.



Fig. 2.—Scarab found at Sebun.

*To face p.* 214.]

Fig. 4.—Seilun: the Hellenistic bath.

Fig. 5.—Seilun: the Mosaic.

Fig. 6.—Seilun: the "open-air weli."

Fig. 7.—The "open-air weli": detail.

Fig. 8.—Yetin: the Sanctuary.

Fig. 9.—Seilun; Rock tombs (to the east).

that Shiloh at any rate existed from the 3rd, or more probably the 5th–4th century B.C. to the 13th century A.D. and the finds, which have hitherto been scarce it is true, point to Israelite times. There can hardly be any doubt that we have gained more certainty as to the determination of the site of Shiloh, even if the absolute proof has not been given, and cannot perhaps be given. It would seem to be confirmed that there was no town on the site before the time of the Israelites. The reason why precisely this spot, though rather remote, was chosen for the central sanctuary may have been, as in the case of Bethel where the ark was first placed, that it was an ancient sacred place. With the progress of the conquest the position of Shiloh became more central, but when the possession of the country had become an established fact, it became more convenient to summon the people to Shechem on the high road. At Shiloh the Tell offered good conditions for defence. Whether there were any walls is uncertain. The terrace walls now found there in great number may possibly be part of the old wall. Architect Christensen thought he could detect the remains of a gateway to the north-west. These and other questions must be gone into upon a further investigation. For only half of the work planned for the first year has been carried out, owing to the unfortunate illness of one of the members of the expedition; but even if all that was intended had been accomplished, we should not have got to the end yet. On the Tell itself the excavations should be continued, partly on the western side where the oldest part seems to be, and partly in a southerly direction. As already indicated, there are probably remains of a church to the west of Jamia Yetin, at the foot of the Tell, and a little on one side another building between the Tell and Yamia Sitin. Further, there is a rectangular building, built in the direction east to west and closer to Sitin, "Eli's grave," if we may venture to revive the name it seems to have borne from ancient times. It would further be desirable to examine some of the rock tombs by which firmer holds might be gained, especially for the earlier chronology, as they seem to be very old (Fig. 9).

## PETRA.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, D.D., D.Litt.

Last spring I paid a visit to Petra, which has now become not only accessible to the ordinary visitor, thanks to motor-roads and railway, but also a place where he can wander and explore without interference. The Beduin have been expelled with their flocks and herds, and a small body of soldiers is permanently stationed at the village of Elji, two miles distant from the mouth of the famous Sîq.

I was struck by two main facts: the large extent of the ancient city and the absence of archaeological, or even superficial, exploration. The site of the old town is marked by mounds which are at once extensive and deep. They are thick with the remains of a pottery which reminded me of Arretine ware. It is of a deep red colour, smooth and slightly polished, and is at once hard and thin, not unfrequently, indeed, as thin as Chinese porcelain. As it is not found in Egypt or Palestine, it would seem to be of local manufacture, which implies the existence of suitable beds of clay.

But what struck me above all else was the abundance of pure water of which there was evidence on all sides, and which seems to have been even more abundant as late as the Crusading period than it is to-day. In one wadi I found the remains of a barrage and lock, while the so-called Hammâm, with its gushing spring and rocks festooned with maiden-hair fern, might have inspired a Greek poet. Between the Jordan and Central Arabia, Petra was the one place where the waters were not only abundant but invitingly pure.

Here, therefore, was the reason why it became the home and capital of the wealthy Nabathean merchants, who controlled the trade in incense and spices from South Arabia to the north. The trade was overland; the Romans, under the orders of Aelius Gallus, attempted to divert it to the sea, but the storms and bad harbours of the Red Sea proved that the maritime route was impracticable, and eventually they had to undertake the capture of Petra and therewith of its trade.

The existence of natural springs of water in an otherwise more or less arid desert was, however, not the only advantage which Petra possessed as an emporium of trade. On three sides—east west and south—it was impregnable; only on the north, at the

southern end of the Valley of Salt, was it exposed to attack. The Valley of Salt, which stretches southward of the Dead Sea, still justifies its name.

The fact that Petra as a capital city and centre of trade must have owed its origin to the fact that it was a sort of oasis in the desert not only explains its origin but also throws light on what has hitherto been an obscure passage in the book of Genesis. In Gen. xxxvi. 24, we are told that among the Horite predecessors of the Edomites was a certain Anah, who "found the *y-m-m* in the wilderness as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father." No such word as *y-m-m*, however, exists in Hebrew, and the Septuagint translators, therefore, were content merely to transcribe it (Ἰαμείν), while Onkelos conjectured that the Emim of Moab were meant. A Talmudic Midrash identified the word with the Greek ἡμίονοι, "mules," and later translators accepted the identification, oblivious of the fact that Hebrew is not Greek and that horses were not known in the Arabian desert until Christian times. It has long been seen that the reading of the Hebrew text is simply a metathesis of *m-y-m* (*mayim*) "waters," and we may, therefore, conclude that what Anah discovered was the oasis of Petra.

Petra, or "Rock," is a literal translation of the Hebrew Sela', a very appropriate name. In Judges i, 36, it is made the southern frontier of the Amorites in agreement with Gen. xiv, 7, where the Amorites are associated with the Amalekites or Beduin of Kadesh (the modern 'Ain Qadîs). In the time of David it would seem to have been the capital of Edom; at all events it was after the decisive battle in the Valley of Salt that the Edomites were subdued (2 Sam. viii, 13, where the context as well as the reading of the Septuagint shows that ארם is a mistake for אדם). After the revolt of Edom from Judah it continued to be the capital of the country, as we learn from 2 Kings xiv, 7, where we read that Amaziah "slew of Edom in the Valley of Salt ten thousand, and took Sela' by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day." The chronicler adds that 10,000 prisoners afterwards were carried to the top of "the rock" of Sela' and cast down from it so "that they all were broken in pieces" (2 Chr. xxv, 12). A few years later Amaziah's son Uzziah attacked the Arabs that dwelt in Gur-Baal and the people of Ma'an, "the Refuge," which is only a few miles distant from Petra (2 Chr. xxvi, 7).

The establishment of a permanent capital at Sela' indicates that Edom had shared in the movement which transformed the semi-feudalism of both Edom and its neighbours into a centralized government like that of Egypt or Babylonia, and brought with it the rise of a capital city. The *allūphīm*—who were not Arab sheikhs, as has been sometimes erroneously supposed—became royal officials, and Sela' assumed the same position as Jerusalem in the Davidic kingdom. The fragment of Edomite annals preserved in Gen. xxxvi, which may have been carried to the royal library of Jerusalem after the conquest of the country, ends "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," and every king named in it, up to the last, is stated to have had a different capital. It is possible that the Davidic conquest broke the power of the *alûphîm*, so that after the recovery of independence the kingship became a reality. And it must also be remembered that the rise of a kingdom on the north, the side on which Sela' was vulnerable, would have made a permanent military occupation of the latter a necessity.

## THE JERUSALEM SEALINGS ON JAR-HANDLES.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, D.D., D.Litt.

The sealings on jar-handles, found in the Ophel excavations and published in the *Annual* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1923–25, pp. 188–91, have a more than special interest. The attempts at the decipherment of the inscriptions upon them hitherto made have been unsuccessful, mainly owing to the endeavour to turn the first character into a letter of the Phoenician alphabet. But no such letter exists. The character, however, is well known to those who have occupied themselves with ancient scripts; it is merely the common ideograph of the sun and the Sun-god as it appears in the Egyptian and Hittite hieroglyphs as well as in some other forms of pictographic writing (⊙). In most of the sealings the ideograph is followed by the letters הרי, that is to say, the adjectival derivative from *har* "mountain," the translation of the inscription being "Sun-god of the Mountain." *Harai* corresponds with *Shaddai* which, as was long since pointed out by Fr. Delitzsch, is a derivative from the Babylonian *sadu*, "mountain," El-Shaddai being "the God of the Mountain" of Jerusalem. I have always maintained

that Har-el in the Palestinian geographical list of Thothmes III (No. 81) represents Jerusalem, so that it is no surprise to me to find an equivalent expression in the Ophel sealings. In Gen. xxii, 14, we have "Mount of the Lord" instead of "Mount of God."

But what gives the sealings a special interest is that upon one of them (No. 10) the alphabetic letters are replaced by Hittite hieroglyphs. Here we have .

All three characters are common in the Moscho-Hittite texts, and read: "The Sun-god, king of the Mountain-land." I need not enlarge on the historical significance of the fact that the Hittite script should still have been known and used in Judah at the time when the jars were moulded; Heth was the second son of Canaan, as we are told in Gen. x, and the Tell el-Amarna tablets bear testimony to the truth of the statement. But it is somewhat surprising to find the characters still in use in Palestine at the date to which we are accustomed to refer the jar-handles.

However, I am not sure whether, in certain cases, our chronological views will not have to be revised. The discoveries at Jebêl and in the Louvre have shown that the changes of form in the letters of the Phoenician alphabet were so slight between the 13th and 8th centuries B.C. as to deprive most of them of all value as a criterion of date. The letters *h*, *r* and *z* have the same forms in the Ophel sealings and in the Louvre inscription of Osorkon I (900 B.C.), while they differ from the forms found at Jebêl (1300 B.C.) only in a slight elongation of the vertical line in *h* and a slightly more angular loop in *r*, the form of *z* remaining exactly the same in all three cases. Hence, from the palaeographical point of view, the Ophel sealings could just as well belong to the 10th or even the 13th century B.C. as to the 6th. And the chronological question has long troubled me in consequence of my having obtained many years ago at Tell el-Amarna a jar-handle with a sealing, which in form and even in material is indistinguishable from the Jerusalem inscribed jar-handles, the only difference being that the inscription is that of the Aten. The resemblance between the Egyptian and Palestinian jar-handles is, in fact, so striking that it has always been difficult for me to believe that they belong to widely separated dates. What is wanted is a renewed examination of those inscribed Palestinian jar-handles—unfortunately few in number—the exact archaeological position of which at the time of discovery has been recorded.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

*University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum: Publications of the Babylonian Section; Vol. xiv. The Culture of the Babylonians, from the seals in the Collections of the Museum. I. Text. II. Plates.* 2 vols. £3 3*s.* net. *Vol. xv. Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon,* £1 1*s.* net. By Leon Legrain, D.D., Sc.D., Curator of the Babylonian Section of the Museum. (English Agent, Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., Grafton Street, W.)

These sumptuous volumes are a notable contribution upon the achievement of which Dr. Legrain is heartily to be congratulated. Vol. xiv, in two parts, takes its rise in the engraved seals and clay impressions in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. These, nearly 1,100 in all, are reproduced in Part II, while in Part I they are classified, discussed, and the history and religion of Babylonia are set forth in a way that is illustrated by these objects. They cover a considerable period from the earliest Sumerian age (*c.* 4200 B.C.) to the Arab invasion, and Dr. Legrain points out, stage by stage, their varying characteristics: *e.g.* the Gilgamesh and Eabani contest in the early Sumerian period, the appearance in the Sumero-Akkadian period of gods in human form, with crowns, sceptres, and thrones like kings. The change "expresses a higher ideal of worship no longer limited to stones, animal figures, weapons and emblems, but to gods akin to humanity." Religion, in fact, is becoming distinctly anthropomorphic. We pass to the invasion of the Guti, of Hittites, and of Cassites. In between the first and second is seen the predominance of the Amorites and the god Martu; the old Sumero-Akkadian tradition is broken up by the Guti, and new elements are introduced. The Martu period is one of syncretism and symbolism; though what the new race introduced in art and religion was poor. The crooked stick is the god's most typical emblem. A rare seal, perhaps Assyrian (No. 510), has a figure of a bronze bull in flames. The flying sun-disk and composite monsters are favourite *motifs*. Passing to the Neo-Babylonian age we find decadence, but there is no sudden break. The heroic hunter Gilgamesh or Bel-Marduk is frequently dressed

like a Persian, and Ahur-Mazda replaces Ashur as the Sun-god. In the Persian period the tablets of the firm Murashu Sons, at Nippur, deserve special study, by reason of the western (? Israelite) character of the personal names contained thereon; but Dr. Legrain does not mention any features that call for special remark in this connexion. There are hunting scenes, the horse is frequently met with, and one seal shows a purely Persian fire altar. Influence from the farther west is seen in the curious heads of Ishtar which have a purely Greek profile, and there are other witnesses to Greek influence. Besides a chapter on the early Sumerian religion (especially interesting for its treatment of the relations between Elam and Egypt) and complete classification of the contents of the seals, there are detailed descriptions of each; and from the account of the sources of the collection it appears that a small number are of North Syrian origin, and that a few were found in a box "with a dubious note as coming from Gezer, 1912" (p. 75).

In vol. xv, Dr. Legrain supplements earlier volumes dealing with the Nippur collection, and publishes various fragments of tablets, and some whole pieces. Among the latter is a re-edition of an inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II. which, *inter alia*, gives details of the construction of the state-boats of the gods Marduk and Nabu. Another completes the inscriptions of the kings of Agade as compiled by a Nippur scribe (*c.* 2500), and supplements the text published by Poebel in 1914. The most important of the texts refers to the extension of the kingdom of the great Sargon when the boats of Magan, Melukhkha, and Dilmun lined the quays of Agade. It is noteworthy that the honour of Sargon's campaigns to the Mediterranean Sea is not attributed to the supreme Sumerian god Enlil but to the god Dagan on the river Tutuli, or Duduli, evidently an early Amorite centre. The god was a pre-eminent one, and Dr. Legrain is tempted to identify the site with the land and city of Khana, south of the Khaboras at Tell 'Ishar, near Salhiyeh (p. 26). With this evidence for the early prominence of an Amorite or west Semite deity and for inter-relations between Babylonia and the western coastlands (on which *see* further below); enough has perhaps been said to indicate the interest and value of these the latest of the Pennsylvania publications in the Babylonian section.

S. A. Cook.

The life of the *Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, D.D., Scholar and Missionary in the Holy Land* has been written by Dr. William Ewing, with a foreword by Major-General Sir David Bruce, K.C.B., etc. (Hodder and Stoughton). Dr. Thomson was in Palestine in 1895–1899, where he did good work, besides gaining that insight into Oriental psychology without which no interpreter of the Bible is adequately equipped. The life and record which Dr. Ewing has written is full of interest—parallels to the insanity of Nebuchadrezzar (p. 1243); the Sephardic Jews and their rites (p. 136); the use by the illiterate of the finger-nail impression as a signature (p. 137); the Passover (p. 140); the Samaritan Passover (p. 214); the day of Atonement (p. 164); and the story of the Arabs' revenge upon the guide who led an Englishman to an inscribed stone at Madeba (p. 197—a grim record), and so forth. His residence qualified Dr. Thomson to write a book on the Samaritans which is briefly summarized in chap. xviii. It is interesting to observe that in this book he argued that the modern critical attitude to the Old Testament was untenable, although impartial readers of this Life will see the vast difference between the actual and the ideal which has always characterized Oriental history; one may note also the significant paragraph on Oriental Psychology (p. 225), and the hints intermingled with the accounts of modern ritual. Altogether, the Life is a worthy record of a broad-minded and busy man who will not be forgotten by those who had the privilege of knowing him.

The late Dr. Israel Abrahams, Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature in the University of Cambridge, did not live to see through the press his Schweich Lectures for 1922 on *Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great* (Oxford University Press, 1927). His intention was "less the actual description of campaigns than the unravelling of their deeper causes and their lasting effect on history." He describes the efforts of Antiochus to "Hellenize the Orient," and the brave resistance of Judas Maccabeus. He finds the testimony of Josephus reliable; and his references to the Crusades and the comparison between Richard and Saladin are suggestive. He notes the analogy between the tactics of Titus and those of Allenby for the capture of Jerusalem. Written by a keen lover of the land, this story of the campaigns is a good illustration of the inter-connexion between history and geography which we have learned to appreciate since the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land.*

*Palestine, the Chosen Land*, by Edward A. Annett (Christian Literature Society for India, 1927), is meant primarily for teachers, and is intended to enable them to visualize the geographical background of the Bible, for which purpose he recommends them to have at their hand a relief map of Palestine. He provides a few maps himself, and chapter by chapter this little book takes the reader over the main physical features of each division of Palestine—Samaria as the physical centre, Judea as the heart of Palestine, the indefensibility of Transjordania and so forth. In fact, "Palestine was a chosen land"; it had to be central, and it had to be safe, and it had to be healthy (pp. 1–4). In a hundred pages Mr. Annett gives an adequate introduction in a handy and readable form.

*Grundzüge der aegyptischen Vorgeschichte*, by Alexander Scharff (Heinrichs, Leipzig, 1927), is a useful sketch, with sixteen plates of illustrations, of the oldest culture of Egypt and its relations with Asia. The writer is well abreast of what has been written, though he does not appear to be acquainted with the work of Hall and Peet in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. The task of distinguishing between North African and Asianic elements is a difficult one, the more so as it is necessary to explain how the Egyptian language has become a composition of Semitic and Hamitic elements, and to determine whether it affords a clue to the origin of Egyptian culture. The problem is complicated by the "Capsian" culture, called after Gafsa (Roman Capsa) in Southern Tunisia. The cow-headed goddess, venerated in Byblus, and to be associated with the two-horned Astarte of the Old Testament, and the cow-eyed Hera of Samos, point, he thinks, to an ancient cow-headed goddess in the Levant (p. 37). The Delta, with its easy access to Aegean influence, was a common meeting-place of Libyan-African and Asianic culture, and lines led thence into Upper Egypt, where it united with one that was more essentially African-Hamitic. But Scharff does not find archaeological support for Sethe's view that Osiris, the god of the eastern Delta, came from Asia; foreign invaders added to Egyptian culture, but did not materially change it. On general cultural grounds he is unable to carry back Menes and the First Dynasty before about 3000 B.C.; and the introduction of the Calendar is dated, not to 4241 or 4236 B.C., but 1,460 years later, to 2781, or, better, 2776, in the time of Zoser.

*Palastinensische Kleinkunst*, by Adolf Reifenberg (R. C. Schmidt. Berlin, 1927), belongs to a series of works on the fine arts, and deals with the subject from this standpoint rather than from that of the purely theological or Oriental student. In 135 pages with 157 illustrations the author deals with ceramics, ossuaries, sculpture, glass, metal work and ornaments, coins, etc., a small section on forgeries being not the least valuable. He includes a convenient chronological table and a selected bibliography.

In the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, April, 1927, Dr. Hall writes an appreciation of the late M. Edouard Naville, who, besides being a famous Egyptologist, was keenly interested in the relations between Israel and Egypt, and, almost to the last, was engaged in the discussion of that most vexed of all problems, the route and date of the Exodus. The classified and annotated bibliographies are among the most admirable features of this journal, and in the present number they deal with the Graeco-Roman age. Here the pages on the religion of the later period, on the Zeno papyri, and on Jews and Christians in Egypt, may be specially noted.

*The British Museum Quarterly*, 1927, No. 4, contains a fine illustration of the "Jerash Head," found in the ruins of an early Christian church which flourished *c.* A.D. 400–600. It represents Aesculapius, and the suggestion that the head of the god of healing had been slightly altered to represent Christ is considered improbable. A Syro-Hittite or North Mesopotamian cylinder-seal of *c.* 1400–1200 B.C. (Plate LIV, *a*) is an unusual example of fusion of native Babylonian and Egyptian elements (p. 95 *sq.*). There is an excellent reproduction of the now famous Sumerian relief found at el-'Obeid representing the lion-headed eagle of the Lagash god Ningirsu grasping two stags by their tails (Plate XLVI, p. 85 *sq.*). "It is one of the most important existing relics of the nascent art of Mesopotamia at the end of the fourth millennium B.C."

Mr. Alan Rowe gives a full account of the discoveries at Beth-Shan during 1926 in the *Museum Journal* of the University of Pennsylvania, March, 1927. It supplements the description he so generously sent the P.E.F., and is enriched by many photographs. Among them may be mentioned an ivory inlay showing figures of a lion and

gazelle on either side of a pool of water, a Syrian bronze dagger with inlaid handle, a bronze Hittite axehead, a basalt model of a throne of Cretan type with Egyptian designs, a limestone model of a table or altar also of Cretan type. Near the latter was discovered the model of a sacred tree (or perhaps a stone). Eight city levels are distinguished, the fourth being unusually long (*c.* 1224–300 B.C.). The lines of influence point to North Syria and to the Aegean. The cemetery of Beth-Shan is one of the largest in Palestine, and the graves are of all periods from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine era. Among them are the anthropoid sarcophagi of the so-called "slipper" type: they appear to be those of Egyptian mercenaries of the XIXth Dynasty. One late tomb disclosed a statuette which is believed to represent Isis and her son Horus, or perhaps the Virgin and Child.

In the *Bulletin* of the American Schools of Oriental Research, October, 1926, Prof. Albright surveys the excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim by the joint expedition of Xenia Theological Seminary and the American school. The city, which is supposed to be the ancient Kirjath-Sepher, had been captured and destroyed, at least in large part, five times, and five clearly defined strata could be recognized. First, a relatively poor town was destroyed about the middle of the Middle Bronze Age and a strong city built upon it, resembling in its fortifications Jericho IV (now dated *c.* 1700). "It is becoming more and more evident, as a result of a comparison of the data from different sites in Palestine, that there was a great barbaric irruption from the north during the 18th century B.C., in the course of which many of the cities of Palestine were destroyed; this invasion must be connected with the movements which ultimately brought the Hyksos into Egypt." Both Prof. Albright and Prof. Alt independently explain the extraordinary strength of the fortifications by the feudal organization of the Hyksos: "the strongly fortified 'cities' of this period are properly the castles of the local chiefs, who belonged to many different races; their true designation was *awelu*, a Babylonian word meaning 'noble,' but they arrogated to themselves the title 'king' whenever the weakness of the central authority promised impunity." A later destruction is associated by Prof. Albright with the capture and probable destruction of Sharuhen, only five miles south, by Amosis I, *c.* 1570, when the Hyksos were expelled from Egypt. Traces of Egyptian domination

can be found in City II B, dating *c.* 1500–1200 B.C. To the lower date is ascribed the Israelite conquest—experts differ profoundly even as regards the approximate age—and the new Israelite city, though not so well built, was yet an important one. The pottery is of the Early Iron Age I. There were sherds of Philistine craters, "One exhibiting a complete frieze, composed of the usual series of swans pluming themselves, but very poorly executed, and perhaps a local imitation." Then, the destruction of the East and West Gates points to some fresh catastrophe for which Shishak is held responsible—the date of this is set at 923 B.C. It is pointed out that the discovery of a fragment of a stela of Shishak at Megiddo shows that there has been unnecessary scepticism as to the extent of Shishak's conquests in Palestine. A "high place" was in use down to the final destruction of the city by the Chaldeans, and had been destroyed and set up at least once. After this destruction of the city there was no occupation, though Byzantine sherds on the surface point to some unimportant settlements. Thus, the archaeological history of the city closes in the latter part of the second phase of the Early Iron Age, and is dated by Prof. Albright to 588–587 B.C.

In the *Bulletin* of April, 1927, Dean Badé writes on the excavation of Tell en-Nasbeh. Very old tombs were found, the pottery of which Father Vincent referred to the enolithic period, 3000–2500 B.C. Later come several fine pieces of so-called "Philistine" or Aegean ware with the characteristic swan decoration; it is said to be the first reported discovery of this ware in the highlands of Central Palestine. The many cisterns that were found permitted the tentative inference that they were places for storing grain and water as a safeguard against sieges; the character of some of them allowed one to imagine the sort of cistern into which Ishmael threw the body of the murdered Gedaliah.

Dr. Garstang writes on the site of Hazor in the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, xiv, p. 35 *sqq.* He identifies it with the important strategical site of El-Kedah, S.W.W. of Lake Huleh, a meeting-place of roads leading to Beth-Shan, Taanach, and Megiddo and Tell Harbaj (Harasheth) (*cf.* above, p. 111). The pottery shows that it flourished especially in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, and the references to Hazor indicate that it was of the

first military value and in close touch with the famous string of fortresses in the Vale of Jezreel. The remarkable size of the camp is comparable to that of Misrifeh, N.E. of Homs in Central Syria. The area and the nature of the ramparts are much the same. But while the latter appears to be of Middle Bronze date and may be (as Prof. Albright has suggested) of Hyksos origin—the ramparts of Askalon, too, may date from Hyksos times (*Q.S.*, 1922, p. 11)—the site suggested for Hazor is much earlier, the Early Bronze evidence being as unmistakable and abundant as that for the Middle Bronze Age. In the course of his interesting argument Dr. Garstang notes both the importance of this part of Palestine in the conflict between Egypt and the Hittites and the discoveries of Hittite objects, *e.g.* the probable ceremonial battle-axe at Beisan (it seems to have been deliberately broken and placed before the shrine of Astarte), the small bronze warrior with sword and shield, and typical Hittite conical hat found at Megiddo ; while at Misrifeh was a stone head supposed to represent a Hittite king.

The sixth *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* for 1924–25 (published 1926) contains reports on the School in Jerusalem (Prof. Montgomery describes its history) and Bagdad, a visit to the Coptic convents in Nitria by W. H. P. Hatch, and two important articles of more immediate interest. In one, on a "New Factor in the History of the Ancient East," Edward Chiera and Ephraim Speiser start from a horde of cuneiform tablets in a dialect of Accadian found at Nuzi about 10 miles S.W. of Karkuk (Arrapkha). It is the dialect of a non-Semitic people which they believe to be related to the Mitanni and Khurri (South Armenia). We thus get a widely extended linguistic group, which some scholars call Subaraean (after the geographical term Shubartu), but may rather be styled Khurri. This name is then connected with the Biblical Horites, and it is noted that the Horite name Dishon (-an) "is remarkably reminiscent of the Khurrite Taishen which often occurs on the Nuzi tablets ; and that with the animal names in the Horite genealogies (gazelle, deer, etc.) one may compare the prominence of these animals on the seal impressions of the tablets. The authors, of course, admit that one cannot yet speak in positive terms of this Khurri element in the ancient population, caution is necessary, and to cite a remark made in another connexion "if all philologists

drew conclusions with similar abandon there would be no linguistic or ethnic problems left for us to solve." At all events, it is held that Khurri tribes occupied extensive areas of Mesopotamia as early as the third millennium. Under the leadership of an Indo-European ruling class they established in the second millennium the powerful Mitanni-Khurri empire which vied with Egypt and Khatti (Hittites) for the supremacy of the East. A practically new ethnic group can thus be discovered, the importance of which the authors emphasize. It should, however, be observed that the material, the cuneiform tablets in question, belong to a private family. The case is somewhat similar to that of the tablets of an Assyrian business house in Cappadocia, and of the much later Murashu tablets in Nippur. In other words, the evidence is isolated. The Nuzi tablets also speak of Khabiru (? Hebrews), and as in a position of inferiority; they undoubtedly throw valuable light upon the social conditions, and, if the authors are right in dating them in the early part of the second millennium B.C., we may hope that further study will bring fuller information. For at present they raise more questions than they answer.

To the same volume Prof. Albright contributes one of those brilliant articles which one has learnt to expect from his erudite and versatile pen. "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age" (pp. 13–74) is a close survey of the cities in the Jordan valley with—*inter alia*—an excellent discussion of the Egyptian monuments at Beth-Shan. It is packed with detail which it is impossible to summarize. One may note in passing his identification of the Egyptian Apyriu (or however one spells it) with the Midianite Epher, which goes back to Brugsch (*Ency. Bib.*, col. 1310, n. 3). The upshot of the whole argument is that the valley sites are found to be of very great antiquity. Dependent upon careful irrigation, they arose under the same influences as those that created the irrigation culture of Egypt and Mesopotamia, at an age of an essentially homogeneous culture at or just before the beginning of the third millennium (for Menes in Egypt is dated *c.* 3000). The builders were Canaanite Semites, whose religion may have been characterized by river and lunar cults. Investigation at Bāb ed-Drā has revealed a remarkable sacred site, apparently a place of pilgrimage, lasting down to about the 18th century B.C., indicating that the traditions of the wicked Cities of the Plain have a genuine background.

The appearance of these cities in Gen. xiv is explicable, seeing that on independent grounds Böhl, Jirku, and Albright have been reaching the conclusion that the chapter refers to actual events between 1900 and 1400 B.C. The last mentioned now argues that the catastrophe of Sodom and Gomorrah probably took place about the early part of the 18th century B.C. It is pointed out that wherever a Canaanite town was dependent for its prosperity upon a well-organized system of irrigation it was not occupied by the Hebrews; they knew nothing about irrigation and were not interested in keeping up the old intensive methods of cultivation. It is suggested that "the attitude of the Hebrews is dramatically expressed in the story of Abram and Lot" (p. 69). Perhaps a closer reading of the article would bring to light difficulties over which the writer has glided, it may be, with too much facility, but one must admire his range and grasp, and upon every topic which he takes up—*e.g.* the strange century-long desolation of early Jericho—he has something to say that is suggestive and thought-provoking.

In the *Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society*, vi, p. 4, Prof. Böhl writes on plays upon words in the Old Testament. One might add the intentional transition from "Israel" to "Jezreel" in Hosea i *sq.* (*cf.*, perhaps, Merneptah's stela, "Israel . . . her seed is not"), and what is less known, Gen. xxxi, 25, at which most beginners stumble: "Jacob had pitched *eth-ŏhŏlo* (his tent) in the mountain, but Laban pitched *eth-ekhāw* (with his brethren) in Mount Gilead." In vii, 1–2, Canaan continues his valuable studies of modern Palestinian religion, dealing, this time, with the nature and character of the "saints" and welis, their attributes, relations to men and to God, and the stories of their origin. Holy trees are thought to be inhabited by female saints (p. 3), and in a footnote Prof. Albright observes that the tree-deities of ancient Palestine and Egypt are generally female. Welis may appear in animal form; there are two antagonistic classes of saints, and one group of semi-gods is in continual conflict with the rest. The relation between saints and worshippers is close, saints both help and avenge; they understand men better than God does. When village and saint bear the same name it is difficult to tell which is the earlier; sometimes it is the saint, sometimes the village (p. 53). Many saints may live in one and the same shrine, as many as 10, 40, 60, or 70—especially 40. Some saints are ancestors whose

descendants are still living, and in such cases the eldest son may enjoy the honours (p. 69). The rise of ancestor worship can be easily seen, and " a person does not need to be a political leader to attain the rank of a weli after his death " (p. 76). " Palestine has inherited from its heathen ancestors the idea that the whole country is not governed as a whole by any one deity, but that each locality has its own divinity " ; and even if a village has several saints only one of them is the real patron (p. 77). Dervishes are commonly abnormal (*majḏub*), and what may appear to us to be low or repulsive is not really so. Many insane persons come to be regarded as welis (pp. 77 *sqq.*). In the same number Father Abel writes on Sappho and Arous in Josephus, *Wars*, ii, 5, 1 *sq.*, which he identifies with Saffā, north of Amwās (Emmaus) and Kefr Khāris, farther north ; it is the site of Timnath-Heres. A. E. Mader gives an account of the dolmens found in Palestine ; he estimates their number at *c.* 280, a striking contrast to the 5,000 in Transjordania ; but he is convinced that careful scrutiny would raise the number. In any case, they would be relatively few, not because—as is commonly said—the Israelites destroyed the pagan sites, but because there were more facilities in the west for burying the dead in caverns and also because the more intensive settlement on the west was prejudicial to their preservation. Nor does he agree with the view that the dolmen-builders were semi-nomad pastorals.

In the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, October, 1926, Prof. Albright writes at length on the Historical Background of Gen. xiv. Here one can refer only to the comparison he makes between Tell el-Yehūdiyeh excavated by Petrie and the fine mound of el-Mishrifeh near Kadesh on the Orontes, and other more or less similar fortifications. He reaches the conclusion that the Hyksos invaders, or, at least, the nucleus, came from the Transcaspian steppes. They are connected with an Indo-Iranian (Manda) irruption, and with this is connected an Elamite campaign through Transjordania—as in Gen. xiv—possibly to the turquoise mines in Sinai. In January, 1927, H. A. Gowen writes on hair-offerings ; and the valuable " critical bibliographies," which are a feature of this journal, are continued by J. A. Maynard's survey of studies on Hebrew religion from 1918 to 1924. In the April issue, S. A. B. Mercer deals with Babylonian and Egyptian triads, and L. Keimer with the papyrus-stalk as an article of food.

*Syria: Revue d'Art Orientale et d'Archéologie*, viii, 1927, fasc. 1 and 2, contain full accounts of the French work and other archaeological research. In fasc. 1, Dr. Hrozný, of Prague, gives a preliminary report of the Czecho-Slovak excavations at Kul Tépé and of the cuneiform tablets found there. These are of *c.* 2100 B.C., and consist of commercial archives, tablets received, and copies of those sent in reply. Count Mesnil du Buisson contributes a second article on the ruins of el-Mishrifeh, near Homs, to which reference has already been made. The pottery is lavishly illustrated. A curious seal is regarded as "Amorite" and prior to Hittite influence; Babylonian and Egyptian elements are combined together with a spiral which may be Aegean (p. 24). Father Dhorme writes on the earliest history of Aleppo, and notes the connexion between the name "fresh milk" and Lebanon "white." L. Speleers illustrates some of the "tépés" or "tells" in North Syria, and also describes a Hittite bronze obtained at Abydos in Egypt; the disproportion of the limbs is noteworthy. Cumont deals with a couple of Rhodian jar-handles found at Susa, and René Cagnat notes an inscription with Trajan's name at Sinjar. The ancient routes in Upper Jezirah are described by Poidebard. In fasc. 2, Montet discusses scarabs relating to an Egyptian king at Byblus in the XIIth Dynasty, during the latter part of which period the Phoenician city was an Egypt in little. Dunand writes on the fifth campaign at Byblus (March–June, 1926). A foundation deposit with models is of special interest for the comparison which is made with the similar deposit found at Beth-Shan (p. 95, n. 2). Maurice Pillet writes on the temple at Byblus. To this Dussaud adds an excellent note from the point of view of religious antiquities, with special reference to the evidence of coins and of the well-known late Phoenician inscription of Yehawmelek. He comments on the persistence of similar principles in the construction of Semitic temples, the sanctuary at Mecca being an actual survival of the principles employed at Byblus almost four and a-half millennia previously. The excavations carried out by the French School of Archaeology at Jerusalem at the ruins of Nerab (Sept. 24–Nov. 5, 1926) are described by Carrière and Barrois, the latter of whom writes also in the *Revue Biblique* (below). Edouard Cuq discusses the juridicial conditions in Coelesyria in the time of Ptolemy V. Cumont gives an account of two interesting Phoenician altars discovered in the Lebanons. A Chellean flint station near

Latakiah is described by Passemard. Among reviews Dussaud has interesting notices of De Jerphanion's book on the Antioch chalice, and on the article by Guiges and Ronzevalla on a bronze arrowhead found near Nabatiyeh and with the Phoenician inscription, "the arrow of 'Ada, son of 'Akki."

In the *Revue Biblique*, April, 1927, there are articles by Wilmart on the legend of the wood of the Cross, by Vincent on Charlemagne's protectorate over the Holy Land (which he supports against Kleinclausz's scepticism), and Abel on the Greek and Latin inscriptions discovered by Horsfield at Gerasa. The excavations at Nerab are described by Barrois, the most interesting objects are of about the 4th century B.C. and later; they include a small number of cuneiform tablets. Among the female representations is a clothed figure holding a flower between her breasts: it is probably of Cypriote origin, and seems to have been copied with variations by local artists. Abel reviews in detail the monograph on the 'Ajlun which Steuernagel has worked up from Schumacher's notes and records. He writes also, in the July number, on the mediaeval Mirabel, which he identifies with Mejdel Yābā about 10 miles east of Ibn Ibrak, and about midway between Jaffa and Shiloh. This commanding place is identified with the Tower of Aphek (Josephus, *Wars*, ii, 19, 1), and the Aphek of the wars between Israel and the Philistines. If the name Aphek may be taken to mean a channel of water, Dhorme points to Afkā in the Lebanons and the river Adonis, to Aphek (or Fīk) of Jōlān, and the 'Ain Fīk, and hard by Mejdel Yābā is the source of the Nahr el-Aujeh. The Greek inscription published by the Rev. Garrow Duncan in the *Q.S.*, 1924, pp. 35 *sqq.*, and the Jewish Aramaic grave-stone published by Dr. Cowley (*Q.S.*, 1925, pp. 207 *sqq.*; *cf.* Dr. Daiches, 1926, p. 31 *sq.*) form the subject of a suggestive note by Vincent. The former he reads as the "tomb of Aeneas *the Jew* (ιοδεου) and dates it in (283 =) A.D. 389–390; it is, therefore, about a generation earlier than the Jewish inscription which comes from the same locality. There may have been a Jewish colony here, and, as there was a cemetery, it is not too rash to suppose that there was also a synagogue. He also contributes a valuable chronicle on the Archaeological Year 1926 in Palestine. He questions the supposed "high place" at Beit Mirsim (p. 412), and points out that the dagger of copper—or is it of bronze?—which Dean Badé

found at Tell en-Nasbeh raises a very important chronological question (p. 415 n.). The pottery of the burial cave is comparable to that found at Ophel, but there are several new types for which near analogies are not to be found (p. 416 *sq.*). The Danish excavations at Shiloh—a site noteworthy because it does *not* occupy a strategic position—have shown that during the Hellenistic period Jewish culture succeeded in maintaining itself in spite of the traces elsewhere of successful Greek invasion; similarly, in the Second Iron Age. But there are a few traces of the last Bronze Age (1400-1200), and these are very marked in the First Iron Age (1200-900). After an interval (900–600 B.C.), signs of occupation are abundant down to the Byzantine and the dawn of the Arab Age. Far more important, archaeologically at least, is Balata, Shechem, with rampart, palace, and sanctuary of the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1600), a Temple of the period of the Judges, several times repaired down to about the Exilic Age, two cuneiform tablets of about the Amarna Age, and much else of importance. There are significant architectural points of contact, as regards the gates, with Zenjirli and Beth-shemesh; and while the archaeologist sees Hittite influence, the Bible student will recall Ezekiel's famous description of the gates of the Temple (xl, 6 *sqq.*, 20 *sqq.*). The Shechemite temple was evidently a fine one; and the site itself holds out the highest hopes of a rich harvest.

A very interesting account of Palestinian musical instruments, with illustrations, is commenced by Sachsse in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, I, heft 1. Guthe writes, *apropos* of a new edition of his *Bibelatlas* on the isthmus of Suez. His remarks are important for the eternal problem of the crossing of the Red Sea; and he describes some of the changes which he has introduced into the other maps, with his reasons. Though the cuneiform tablets discovered by Sellin at Taanach in 1902-4 have long become common property, it has been left for A. Gustavs to make a study of the personal names they contain, and to consider what conclusions can be drawn from them. They are, he considers, of Subaraean type—the Subaraean *language* being that of the Mitanni *state*. Among the names is Puti (Arad)-Khi-ba, meaning "servant of *Khiba*," the sky-goddess, queen of heaven; it was the name of the king of Jerusalem in the Amarna letters (p. 10). These and other names point to an extensive "Subaraean" stock over Palestine and Syria,

a view to be compared with that of Chiera and Speiser (above). "Hittite" names, on the other hand, are fewer, and biblical references to "Hittites," as, *e.g.* Uriah of Jerusalem and the Hebronite sons of "Heth," may really refer to the Subaraeans. A distinction must be drawn between the Hatti, "Hittites," of Boghaz-keui and those of North Syria. The so-called *bit khilani*, which is regarded as typically "Hittite," is not found in Boghaz-keui, but is North Syrian (Zenjirli), or rather "Subaraean." It is a style found in Jericho (Watzinger, *Z.D.M.G.*, v, 134) and Shechem (*Z.D.P.V.*, xlix, 235); and whereas there are links between North Syria and Palestine, there is a gulf between North Syria (Zenjirli) and Boghaz-keui.[1]

It will be seen that there is the keenest enquiry into the problems of the population of Syria and Palestine, a population with names which are neither true "Hittite" not "Israelite." The late Prof. Clay argued energetically for the importance in Semitic history of the "Amorite" area in North Mesopotamia, now the "Mitanni" and its offshoots are engaging attention. Theo. Bauer's book on *Die Ostkanaanäer* (Leipzig, 1926), based upon the "West Semitic" personal names in Babylonia, is reviewed by Schnabel in the Göttingen *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1927, i, ii. By Amor, whose prince is so conspicuous in the Amarna letters, is to be understood not the Lebanon district, but one farther east, but with extensions on both sides. Amor, in fact, centred in the oasis of Tadmor, the later Palmyra, a city mentioned *c.* 1100 B.C. by Tiglath-pileser I as being then in the hands of the Aramaeans. Tadmor, in other words, was, according to Schnabel, the centre of an extensive power, even as it was, centuries later, in the days of Odenath and Zenobia.

The monthly *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* is invaluable for its reviews and bibliographies. In the April number, Stübe reviews the effort of Blaufuss (*Kephtharitische Inschriften*) to interpret the Cretan hieroglyphs as "Pelasgian," the language being Hebraic. There

[1] Prof. Sayce, in a letter to the present writer, observes that he had already informed Dr. Sellin in March that the names on the Shechemite tablets were neither Semitic nor Hittite in the proper sense, but Mitannian. The term Hittite is a general one, like Pelasgian in Greek, and included the Murri (not Kharri) as they are called by Tushratta (Mur-wu-khe). The name may be the Sumerian Murru, which became Amurru (for Amwerru) in Semitic; this will account for the "Subaraean" names of the Amorite kings in the Amarna letters and the spelling Murru for Amurru in one of the Hittite historical texts.

are articles by M. San Nicolo on Babylonian legal ideas in the Egyptian marriage contracts of the Persian age, and by O. Von Wesendonk on Jesus and Manichaeism.

Dr. Peter Thomsen has completed the fourth volume of *Die Palästina-Literatur*. It contains a complete list of the literature for 1915–1924 in a volume of 750-odd pages. The references are carefully classified ; books are frequently accompanied by a brief statement of their contents and important reviews, and as the list ranges over the entire history of Palestine, and includes archaeology, religion, and biography, the work has proved indispensable for workers in many fields. To him are also due the many excellent articles upon Palestinian antiquities in Ebert's *Reallexikon*, to which reference has already been made from time to time.

In the *American Geographical Review* (April), Mr. John Kirtland Wright gives an interesting illustrated account of Northern Arabia and the explorations of Alois Musil. We are glad to hear that the latter's works will be published by the American Society in six volumes. Among points of interest are the argument for the inclusion of South Mesopotamia and the classical Palmyrena within Northern Arabia, a description of the routes, and an account of the difference between Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, and the economic conditions throughout. As Musil's works contain, besides a description of his journeys, many discussions on the ancient, medieval and modern Orient, English readers will look forward to the translation and publication by the American Geographical Society.

The recently published Egyptian papyrus of the wisdom of Amen-em-ope, the apparent source of Prov. xxii and xxiii, has given rise to much discussion. The influence is not doubted, though whether the Hebrew is actually based on the Egyptian, and not the reverse, is disputed. Dr. A. Mallon writes on it in *Biblica*, January–March, pp. 1–30. Lange, a Danish scholar, inclines to the late date (7th–6th century B.C.), to which Griffith and Spiegelberg ascribe the Egyptian papyrus, in opposition to Erman, who fixed upon the 9th century. Max Pieper writes a good review of Lange in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (May, cols. 349 *sqq.*). For English readers, excellent accounts of the Egyptian papyrus and the questions which it has brought will be found in the accounts by Griffith and

D. C. Simpson in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, October, 1926, and by W. O. E. Oesterley in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1927, pp. 9–23, whose learned and versatile editor, Dr. Hugo Gressmann, has recently passed away.[1] The *Zeitschrift* under his hands had been revolutionized; its pages were opened to English writers, and extremely valuable surveys were given by the Editor of archaeological work in and about Palestine. Gressmann's death is a great loss to international scholarship; he was a brilliant and stimulating writer, and keenly interested in biblical archaeology. His *Texte und Bilder* to the Old Testament (translations of texts and many fine illustrations) are of outstanding importance.

An article in the *Z.A.T.W.* by A. Alt on a Galilaean list of place-names in Joshua xix belongs to the series of topographical, geographical, and historical studies, to which attention has already been drawn (*Q.S.*, 1926, p. 50). The peculiar handling of the central Palestinian names has often attracted attention—Dr. Gaster in his *Schweich Lectures*, p. 138 *sq.*, has recently reiterated his conviction of the importance of the Samaritan Book of Joshua in this connexion—and the difficulties in the boundaries of the northern tribes were noticed by H. W. Hogg in his articles in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. After a careful survey of the contents, Alt passes to the question when a list of place-names in Galilee would most naturally be compiled. He draws attention to 2 Kings xv, 29 ("Galilee, all the land of Naphtali"), and the subdivision into provinces by the Assyrian administration (Dor, Megiddo and Gilead), and to the period when Galilee was part of the province of Megiddo he would ascribe the list in Joshua. But after 722 the creation of Samaria as a province separated Galilee from Judah; and only when we reach the time of Josiah do we find a connexion between the two severed districts, for Josiah admittedly endeavoured to exercise his religious authority northwards, and, according to 2 Chron. xxxiv, 6, even reached Naphtali. In this way we are to understand how the Judaean redactor of the Book of Joshua got possession of a Galilaean list, and at a time when Galilee was, however temporarily, part of the Judaean kingdom.

[1] Dr. Oesterley has since published a book on *The Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament* in the light of the newly discovered teaching of Amen-em-ope; besides a discussion of questions of origin and date, it includes the results of the latest Egyptological study of the difficult papyrus.

In the *Palästina-jahrbuch*, xxii (1926), Dalman writes on the four kinds of soil in the parable, Mark iv, 3 *sqq.*, on the Palestine Institute of the University of Greifswald, and on Gibeon. Herzberg's paper on Tradition in Palestine is specially interesting, illustrating as it does the age-long tendency of tradition to grow, change, and wander. Prof. Alt gives an account of the work of the German Evangelical Institute during 1925, with a detailed discussion of the places visited during their excursions. He also writes on the history of Beth-Shan, 1500–1000 B.C., a summary of the data from monuments and excavations. From Prof. Alt's reference here (p. 108, n.) and in the *Z.A.T.W.* above (p. 59, n. 1) to my remarks in the *Q.S.*, 1926, p. 50 *sq.*, it is evident that we do not quite understand one another. No one is more ready than myself to emphasize the importance of the external evidence and the one-sided and incomplete character of the biblical narratives. My criticisms in the passage in question and elsewhere are directed to combinations of the two groups of evidence in ways which seem to me unmethodical. The different and conflicting efforts at the present day to form a reasonable account of the history of the exodus, the settlement, and the rise of the Monarchy cannot *all* be right, and they may be left to fight one another—which they do. The old historians of Israel have given us their ideas of the course of events, and directly one departs from it essentially—as all modern writers do, and must do—there is nothing to take its place except a reconstruction, and a reconstruction must do more justice to the constituent elements of the narratives than they as yet receive, even at the hands of the most "moderate" or "conservative" of modern writers. The amount of material which these latter have to ignore is really astonishing, and a hunt in their waste-paper baskets produces most unexpected results. S. A. C.

## TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

### HEBREW.

| Hebrew. | English. | Hebrew. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|
| א | ’ | כ | kh |
| ב | b | ל | l |
| ב | bh | מ | m |
| ג | g | נ | n |
| ג | gh | ס | s |
| ד | d | ע | ‘ |
| ד | dh | פ | p |
| ה | h | פ | f |
| ו | v, w | צ | z |
| ז | z | ק | k |
| ח | h | ר | r |
| ט | t | ש | sh |
| י | y | ש | s |
| כ | k | ת | t |
| | | ת | th |

### ARABIC.

| Arabic. | English. | | Arabic. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ا | ’ | | ض | d |
| ب | b | | ط | t |
| ت | t | | ظ | tz |
| ث | th | | ع | ‘ |
| ج | g | or j in Syrian Arabic. | غ | gh |
| ح | h | | ف | f |
| خ | kh | | ق | k |
| د | d | | ك | k |
| ذ | dh | | ل | l |
| ر | r | | م | m |
| ز | z | | ن | n |
| س | s | | ه | h |
| ش | sh | | و | w |
| ص | z | | ي | y |

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.